

Views on the Empowerment of Farm Workers

A Case Study from the Stellenbosch Wine Industry in South Africa



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Preface

I started the Research Master in African Studies at Leiden University with a strong interest in inequality, empowerment and Zimbabwe. Initial ideas for my thesis revolved around '*indigenization and economic empowerment*' in the Zimbabwean mining industry. Soon enough, it became apparent that this, for a variety of reasons, was not a realistic plan for my thesis.

While searching for other countries and sectors where empowerment took place the South African wine industry came into sight. Looking deeper into the wine industry Stellenbosch appeared to be *the place to be*. A lot of previous research had been carried out by academics from Stellenbosch University, it was situated in the heart of South Africa's wine industry and many industry bodies were located there.

Slowly but steadily my research proposal took shape. I would look specifically at grassroots attitudes towards empowerment. The existing literature frequently talked about farm workers as pawns in a chess game without bringing their perspective. I found this to be an unacceptable void. Surely, those who should benefit from (all the talk about) empowerment must have a voice themselves as well? This was where I found my niche in the existing discourse and this idea seemed more achievable.

Although there were warnings about the political minefield I was getting into, and the difficulty of getting access to farms, they did not deter me from pursuing this idea. Exactly because of the difficulties and intricate nature of the subject it appealed to me. Eventually, all these warnings proved to be legitimate but despite them, I am confident that this research project has been valuable and worthwhile. The support and encouragement I received from everyone in Stellenbosch helped tremendously in achieving my results.

Upon arrival I indeed found myself in the middle of a political minefield whereby all parties managed to make an authentic, convincing case for their perspective. Being the young, inexperienced researcher I am this certainly complicated the development of this thesis and the position I take within the debate. At the same time, it offered me the opportunity to listen to all actors with an open mind. Eventually the fieldwork on which this thesis is based has been a rollercoaster ride of experiences. All have however been great for my personal and academic development.

Roeland Hemsteede,

Leiden, August 2013

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Thesis writing: a task of great pleasure (once completed) and sometimes considerable discomfort (when writing). It is also a task once cannot complete singlehandedly so naturally, I am also indebted to all the people who have assisted me along the way. From the initial stages of drafting a proposal, preparing for the field work, carrying out the field work to the final stages of writing up – and then rewriting – people have been most generous in their assistance to me. Naming everyone would be a task without end, perhaps even more endless than the eventual thesis presented here. Nonetheless there are some that I am indebted so much to that not naming them would not feel good.

To start, there is the entire community at the Africa Studies Centre in Leiden. All the professors and guest lecturers have shaped my ideas in one way or another eventually leading to the research proposal with which I went into the field. The atmosphere at the ASC has always been one of open doors and friendly feedback, an area very conducive to my studies in general and my thesis in particular. Especially the support of Dr. Marleen Dekker has been of great help. By being critical yet constructive in regard to both my proposal and thesis she has aided my work greatly. Her distanced view has helped me to retain clarity and prevented me from becoming consumed by writing texts that people outside the Stellenbosch wine farming community would find hard to relate to. By following her helpful suggestions I hope to have been able to write a thesis that is both rich in content and accessible to people with a broader interest in economic empowerment processes.

After the proposal writing came the inevitable climax of the Research Master in African Studies. Fieldwork. Stellenbosch was unknown to me when I arrived as was the practice of doing fieldwork. However, Professor Nick Vink was kind enough to take me under his wings and assist me wherever possible. Whether it were the instant replies to me emails, introductions, sharing his unlimited knowledge on (empowerment in) the wine industry or simply providing a glass of wine every now and then helped me collecting the data on which this thesis is built while making my time in Stellenbosch more pleasurable. The support from Sharron Marco-Thysse from the Center for Rural Legal Studies has also been invaluable.

Before continuing with the somewhat obscure ‘others’ one last specific note of praise to my mother is appropriate. She has supported me, first by helping me in the decision to take up this master, then with my ideas and continuously throughout my thesis-writing process. Her comments, feedback and unrelenting support have prevented me from straying too far from my objectives. Then, lastly, I also want to devote a word of thanks to my classmates. The countless discussions we had during out ‘after class drinks’, the chats, the shared frustrations, and everything else made the process of thesis writing a more pleasurable experience for which I am tremendously thankful.

List of abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
B-BBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
CCMA	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CRLS	Center for Rural Legal Studies
DA	Democratic Alliance
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
KWV	Original Dutch: Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Zuid Afrika Beperkt; Afrikaans: Koöperatiewe Wynbouersvereniging van Suid Afrika Beperk; English: Co-operative Wine Growers Association of South Africa Ltd
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
RF	Rural Foundation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAWB	South African Wine and Brandy Corporation
SAWC	South African Wine Council
SAWIS	South African Wine Industry Statistics
SAWIT	South African Wine Industry Trust
SETA	Skills Education Training Authorities
VAT	Value Added Tax
WIP	Wine Industry Plan
WIETA	Wine Industry Ethical Trade Association

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Abstract

Within discourses on farm worker empowerment the views of farm workers themselves are an often overlooked aspect. This thesis fills this void by examining farm worker priorities and perceptions on empowerment. These are contrasted to the priorities and perceptions farmers have. Data for this thesis were collected between August 2012 and January 2013 during fieldwork in Stellenbosch, South Africa. A combination of interviews, focus group discussions, self-administered surveys and secondary sources make up the data. This research shows that the farm worker community is heterogeneous in regard to their priorities. Farm worker needs are a mix of priorities relating to material, immaterial, short-term, long-term, personal and impersonal objectives. Increased salary is the most important priority for farm workers and this is acknowledged by farmers. Work enjoyment is also highly important to farm workers yet overlooked by farmers. Farmers, more so than farm workers, are aware of the limitations to empowerment. The limitations in terms of scope and speed to empowerment will result in many farm workers not being greatly empowered leading to disappointment. Furthermore, empowerment as it currently stands will benefit those with permanent employment contracts while it might further marginalize non-permanent farm workers.

"It would be nice to let students see what it is to work on the farm!" - Anonymous farm worker

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Stellenbosch, South Africa. A place mainly known by Dutch people as a holiday destination, especially among those who enjoy a glass of wine. This is the place from where the fieldwork for this thesis was conducted. The thesis is written as a part of the 2-year Research Master in African Studies offered by the African Studies Centre and Leiden University in Leiden, the Netherlands. In this thesis I will research the views of both farm workers and farmers towards the empowerment of farm workers.

1.1 Empowerment

Like so many things in South Africa *empowerment* and the wine industry find their origins in a racialized history. Ever since the first vines were planted in the 1650s labour exploitation has been a defining characteristic of this industry (see also chapter 4). Up to this date, the racialized and exploitative relations between farm worker and farmer are omnipresent. Farm workers continue to be paid extremely low salaries and have very limited options to leave the farm and build up a life somewhere else. Empowerment is meant to redress the wrongs that have accrued over centuries. It is meant to transform the industry into one that is no longer based on exploitation and where race is no longer a determinant of what one can achieve.

For this purpose, countless initiatives have been created, reports written and political targets set. In the enormous buzz surrounding empowerment one voice was however often crowded out. Farm workers are too often spoken about instead of spoken with. Existing research approached empowerment from different angles such as that of business (Arya & Bassi, 2009; McEwan & Bek, 2009; Ponte, Roberts, & Sittert, 2007), sociology (du Toit & Ewert, 2002; du Toit, Kruger, & Ponte, 2008; Ewert & du Toit, 2005), and class/elite formation (Freund, 2007; Southall, 2006b; Terreblanche, 2002). In a sense, farm workers' marginalized position within *the new South Africa* is reflected in the discourses on empowerment.

Empowerment is a process of socio-economic transformation intended to redress the (historical) inequalities in South Africa. Moreover it is also very much a top-down oriented process whereby its intended beneficiaries, in this case farm workers, frequently go unheard. In line with the social science and humanities nature of this research master I therefore decided to place farm workers at the core of my research. By analyzing their priorities and perceptions of empowerment this thesis adds an important perspective to current discourses on farm worker empowerment. To do so it was

essential for me to immerse myself in how people's needs and aspirations are formed (Alderfer, 1969; Gottfredson, 1981; Maslow, 1943) and the workings of affirmative action (Leonard, 1984; Paul, Niehoff, & Turnley, 2000; Reynolds, 1992; Sabbagh, 2004).

The priorities and perceptions that are expressed by farm workers (see chapter 5) are related to the types of needs and occupational aspirations people have. The needs people have can be subdivided into either 5 (Maslow, 1943) or 3 (Alderfer, 1969) categories. While people can pursue (greater) satisfaction of all needs simultaneously it are needs that relate to one's physical wellbeing that are the most important. Farmers are best placed to address shortcomings in the satisfaction of workers' needs and for this they initiate empowerment programs. The literature on affirmative action explains the different types of affirmative action such as hard and soft policies. Hard policies directly influence what decisions can be made and set quotas while soft policies focus on outreach or stimulation of disadvantaged groups. Moreover, affirmative action tries to address the (racial/economic) hierarchies within societies; affirmative action towards empowerment in South Africa is no exception. How exactly hierarchies are broken down, how people can become more empowered and how people's needs can be affected through affirmative action is discussed in chapter 3's theoretical framework.

The literature is supplemented with fieldwork data collected through surveys, interviews and focus group discussions. Combining insights from my fieldwork, the affirmative action literature and literature on needs/aspirations I have – to a certain extent - been able to shed light on the (different) views towards farm worker empowerment.

1.2 Research questions

The main research question is: *"What are the views on the empowerment of farm workers in the South African wine industry?"*. I will answer this question through a case study of 7 wine farms around Stellenbosch in the Western Cape province, South Africa. It is in my opinion impossible to speak about true empowerment unless this is based on the needs, priorities and views of the intended beneficiaries. As such, this research aims to provide – by proxy – a voice to the farm workers who are too often considered to be objects instead of participants and stakeholders in the empowerment process.

The four sub-questions that serve to answer the main research questions are as follows:

- 1) *"What are the views of farm workers towards their own empowerment"*
- 2) *"What are the views of farmers towards the empowerment of (their) farm workers"*
- 3) *"Which differences and convergences are there in their views towards empowerment?"*,

4) *“How can these differing views of empowerment of farm workers be explained?”*

These questions are addressed in respectively chapter 5, 6 and 7.

1.3 Chapter outline

The employed methodologies are elaborated upon in chapter 2. First the selection of research locations will be addressed followed by the methods for data-collection. Then a concise description is given of the collected primary data. The last section of chapter 2 engages in the opportunities for, and limitations to, this research project.

Chapter 3 lays the theoretical foundation for this thesis. It introduces the concepts and terminology which will be used. After this the literature on affirmative action is presented in which the various types and purposes of affirmative action and their critiques are reviewed. Thereafter theories will be presented on the needs and aspirations of people and how these are connected to empowerment.

In chapter 4, *“Contextualizing the labour and empowerment environment”*, necessary background information is provided. The history of labour relations on wine farms in the Western Cape is covered, before discussing the changes and continuities affecting contemporary empowerment. Then an overview is given of contemporary initiatives and events impacting views on empowerment.

Chapter 5 deals with sub-question 1: *“What are the views of farm workers towards their own empowerment”*. This question requires an understanding of the conceptions, of farm workers towards empowerment and their priorities and attitudes towards it. This chapter analyzes the collected survey data. The way in which farm workers conceptualize empowerment is then presented. Subsequently farm workers’ priorities are discussed, as are the differences within their community. Lastly the views of (groups within) the farm worker community towards a set of statements on empowerment is elaborated upon.

Chapter 6 addresses sub-question 2: *“What are the views of farmers towards the empowerment of (their) farm workers”*. The chapter starts with illuminating the variety of meanings which farmers attach to empowerment as a concept and the reasons why farmers initiate empowerment projects. Then, farmers’ experiences with empowerment are presented because these inevitably influence their perceptions and future actions. Thereafter farmers’ views are given on what they see as priorities of (their) farm workers. Continuing, their opinions on obstacles towards empowerment are discussed and supplemented with those of industry experts. After a discussion on changes and continuities with empowerment the chapter concludes with what farmers see as a realistic timeframe for substantial empowerment.

Chapter 7 is divided into three parts. The first part addresses sub-question 3: *“Which differences and convergences are there in the views towards empowerment between farm workers and farmers?”* This question is answered by comparing chapters 5 and 6 whereby first the differences and then the areas of convergence are discussed. This analysis is taken one step further by answering sub-question 4: *“How can these differing views of empowerment of farm workers be explained?”* These explanations lead to a response to the main research question *“What are the views on the empowerment of farm workers in the South African wine industry?”*.

The thesis would however not be complete without general conclusions, a discussion and some recommendations for further research. As such, these recommendations will conclude the thesis in chapter 8, hopefully leaving the reader eager to pursue them in their own quest for knowledge and personal empowerment.

"I don't want to answer that, my workers can speak for themselves" – Anonymous farmer

Chapter 2 - Methodological considerations

This study aims to explore the views of farm workers and farmers towards empowerment within the Stellenbosch wine farming sector. It combines qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative methods comprise semi-structured interviews (33), focus group discussions (3) and the collection of secondary sources. The quantitative side of this study is based on a total of 114 surveys which have been collected from five different farms. By combining these methods I bring forward the voices of farm workers, owners and others and aim to provide a balanced view of the issues surrounding empowerment at the research locations.

I find it very important that the findings of this research are not only empirically grounded but also socially robust. As such, compliance with the three aspects that Gibbons (1999, p. 13) considers necessary for research to be socially robust is essential. The first aspect is that knowledge should be valid in practice, not just in a laboratory. I do this by supplementing academic knowledge with primary data collected among the farm workers and farmers. The second important aspect is that (lay) experts are included. This is done by conducting surveys and interviews with people who are involved in the wine sector such as farm workers, farmers, academics, representatives of labour unions and other industry experts. As such, the society with which the study is concerned, participates in the creation of the study, fulfilling Gibbons' third requirement.

In the subsequent sections I will explain which methods have been chosen and for what reasons. I will also elaborate on how the collection process took place and give some considerations on how these methodological choices shaped the results. Lastly, this chapter will discuss the opportunities and limitations resulting from the chosen methodology.

2.1 Selection of research locations

Stellenbosch

Stellenbosch as a research location has been chosen for several reasons. Firstly, Stellenbosch has a big wine industry. 173 farms with wine production facilities are located in the vicinity and many related institutions/organizations can be found in the area (VinPro, 2012, p. 500). Secondly, the presence of a university and professors who had conducted prior research on the subject provided a good base for this research.

There are however also some disadvantages. Some biases follow from this way of selection. Firstly, Stellenbosch is a relatively wealthy and publicly visible wine producing region. As a result, it is

generally felt that farms in this area are wealthier than in other regions of South Africa leaving them with more resources to engage with empowerment projects. Secondly, the tourism and public scrutiny facing the Stellenbosch region can have consequences for farms acting socially irresponsible, more so than for farms that are less visible to the public eye. Thirdly, the Stellenbosch area is relatively urbanized giving workers better access to information compared to some more remote regions. As a result, workers in the Stellenbosch region might be better informed about their situation.¹

Farm selection

During the selection of research locations a pragmatic approach has been taken. Farms with processing facilities offer more different functions within the company compared to farms that only produce grapes and are as such more interesting in terms of empowerment. Only farms with processing (cellar) facilities participated in this research.

The selection of eventual research farms took place as follows. Initially, I contacted farms that met the criteria laid down in my original research proposal. These criteria were 1) the farm had to be privately owned and, 2) the farm had to be formally Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) accredited. This second criterion implies that the farm should have an annual turnover of more than 5million rand because farms with a lower turnover are exempted from using the B-BBEE scorecard. This proved to be a too constricting criterion. One reason for this was that many farms did not participate in the formal B-BBEE trajectory and therefore had no scorecard.

In total, twenty-five farms have been contacted from which eighteen farms either declined to cooperate or did not respond to my inquiries. Eventually, I secured access to seven farms with grape processing facilities. The seven research farms have been selected as follows. I gained access to the first farm after I contacted the farmer as I found out the farm was involved in empowerment initiatives. To five more farms I got access after being introduced to them by my supervisor from Stellenbosch University. He contacted six farm-owners he knew, out of these six all but one agreed to participate. Access to the seventh location was obtained through the help of the Center for Rural Legal Studies (CRLS), an NGO based in Stellenbosch. As such, the eventual research pool can be considered a 'convenience sample'.

¹ While I lack data to substantiate how informed employees on farms are in the Stellenbosch area compared to more rural areas their higher relative exposure to other people, news sources, NGOs, trade unions, etc. makes it very likely that they are/can be better informed.

There are advantages and disadvantages to this way of selecting research locations. The advantage has been that getting access was made possible. The targeted group, farm owners, is a difficult one to gain access to as an outsider. In such an environment convenience sampling is widely used and accepted (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2003, p. 197). Being introduced by either a professor from Stellenbosch University or the CRLS, helped to establish a bond of trust prior to conducting research at those particular farms. However, it also meant that only farms which are 'doing the right thing' were cooperative.

Despite these limitations, the constraints imposed by the research population (hard to reach) and others (limited time and resources) made convenience sampling the appropriate method for this case study. By focusing on a few locations with a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods this thesis explores the empowerment-related issues of workers and owners in depth. In this thesis I do not try to provide a representative and exhaustive oversight. But I believe that researching grassroots opinions can provide important and valuable insights into a wide range of issues related to empowerment.

2.2 Semi-structured interviews

The employed sampling techniques for the semi-structured interviews are convenience, judgment and snowball sampling. While carrying out my fieldwork and talking to key-informants names of potentially interesting new key informants were noted down so I could contact them afterwards. Sometimes, I was referred to/introduced to others by existing informants which comprises the 'snowball sample' of my eventual pool of informants. Table 1 specifies the 33 interviews with key informants. More specifics will be provided later on.

Table 1: Interviews with key informants

Key informant	Number of interviews
Farmer	8
Academics	6
NGOs and Trade Unions	4
Other experts	9
Workers	6
Total	33

The selection of farmers consisted of 6 men, one woman; one male farmer has been interviewed twice. As said, this selection is a result from convenience sampling. The other informants for my

interviews have been selected according to my own judgment, although sometimes based on recommendations/introductions of others. The reason for choosing this approach has been to *“improve the quality of the sample in comparison with one generated with only convenience in mind”* (McCormack & Hill, 1997, p. 55). By engaging with civil society organizations such as NGOs and trade unions, a more general view of the issues relating to empowerment was gained; more general than would be possible by solely engaging with the seven research locations. Industry experts such as consultants, academics, producer organizations and a government employee provide a broader understanding helping to contextualize the information obtained during the course of the fieldwork. The six workers I interviewed came from three different farms where I respectively interviewed one, two and three persons. One contact had been established through the help of the CRLS; this was at the farm where I interviewed one person. The other five worker-interviewees were asked by the owner to speak with me. These interviews were at farms where I also conducted my survey. However, as the surveys were anonymous, I am not aware of if these workers completed the survey or to which extent they did.

All interviews followed a semi-structured format with questions prepared beforehand. Ad-hoc questions were asked to deepen explanations/clarify specific topics. The prepared interview questions can be found in Appendix I.² The interviews have been recorded digitally and notes have been made during and after the interviews. They were usually conducted in English yet in some instances the informants preferred to respond in Afrikaans or requested that questions were also asked in Afrikaans. For example, I would ask the questions in English and a key informant might choose to answer it in Afrikaans. Sometimes, some specific words were translated to Afrikaans to ensure the informant understood the question correctly. The word empowerment was not always clearly understood, but when using the Afrikaans word *‘bemachting’* the respondent understood what was meant.

2.3 Focus group discussions

The second aspect of the qualitative part of this research consisted of focus group discussions with small groups of farm workers. Three focus group discussions (FGDs) have been conducted at two different farms. Two FGDs consisted of only men, one of only women.³ In all cases, the farm farmer selected the participants. The first FGDs participants were selected by the farmer based on their

² Sometimes, the specific questions were adjusted to more closely reflect the expertise of the interviewee but they were always along the lines of the questions in appendix 1b.

³ In one case, originally there were two men and one woman. However, she felt very uncomfortable and left after which the farmer asked for someone else (a man) to take her place.

language ability (some workers only spoke Xhosa) and their function within the company as I asked for a diverse response group. This was an impromptu FGD as just before I was to conduct my survey widespread unrest in the agricultural sector broke out. As a result, the farmer indicated that the workers did not feel comfortable with being surveyed.⁴ At the second farm where I conducted two FGDs the owner first asked me questions in regard to my wishes before selecting workers. The FGDs were all conducted during working hours. Respondents interrupted each other multiple times (in all cases) with different views/responses, and were critical about what happened (or not). This indicates that an actual discussion took place and that the respondents felt comfortable enough to express their own thoughts. Although these meetings took place on the farm where the respondents worked, the farmers were not present at the discussions. The fact that respondents were selected by the farmer might mean that they have been selected on the basis of their 'positive attitude' towards what was happening on the farm. However, I did not get the impression that the selected workers were specifically selected to paint a rosy picture.

The questions asked were meant to be general in nature and to get a general response that was valid for the entire farm/community. However, many respondents expressed difficulty with talking about empowerment at that level of abstraction. Answers were mostly personal, other respondents then claimed to recognize themselves in these answers. Getting a idea of what the entire group thought was further complicated by the fact that not every respondent expressed their opinion on a certain topic. Some respondents were much more vocal than others and it was not always possible to elicit meaningful responses from the less vocal respondents.

2.4 Collection of secondary sources

The third qualitative aspect in this study is the collection of data from secondary sources. Informants frequently pointed out interesting literature or they supplied reports⁵ and other (economical and sociological) publications related to empowerment. Articles from more general publications such as 'Wineland'⁶, 'Landbou Weekblad'⁷, the 'Cape Argus'⁸ and 'News 24'⁹ were also collected with a

⁴ At a farm where I did conduct my survey, a group of respondents asked by the owner to fill in the surveys refused to do so with the ongoing unrest being the reason.

⁵ Usually this meant their own publications/research.

⁶ Wineland is a monthly publication by VinPro, the representative organisation for SA wine producers.

⁷ Landbou Weekblad is a weekly publication in Afrikaans that covers all aspects of South African agriculture.

⁸ The Cape Argus is one of the main daily printed newspapers published in English.

⁹ News 24 is an online news resource focusing on South Africa and is reachable at <http://www.news24.com/>.

specific focus on the unrest that took place in the agricultural sector during the end of 2012. This unrest also affected the Stellenbosch wine sector and area.

2.5 Surveys

The quantitative part of this study comprises 114 collected, self-administered, surveys. These surveys serve as a supplement to the qualitative approach in order to avoid supplement a too personal/narrow interpretation of the issues surrounding empowerment of farm workers. The surveys can be found in Appendix II. The questions are based on previous research by (Janssens, Sefoko, v., & Bostyn, 2006) and (Sefoko, Rooyen, Janssens, Bostyn, & D'Haese, 2007) and on knowledge I gained through interviews and informal conversations. The survey questions can be divided into eight categories. These are: 1) Business ownership and control; 2) Access to finance; 3) Internal Employment and Human Resource Management; 4) External Employment and Human Resource Management; 5) Social capital/enabling environment; 6) Lobbying power and collective action; 7) Future related aspects; 8) Miscellaneous. The first six components are borrowed from the aforementioned research.

Out of the 114 collected surveys 23 were returned with all questions answered as intended (see Table 2, below). 91 other surveys were returned, but differed in the extent to which they were completed. This varied from forms returned with virtually none of the questions answered to forms with just minor omissions. This might lead to some bias of the results, as workers are likely to have only completed the questions they felt strongly about. Surveys in which farm workers noted more than five priorities (question 2) have been excluded. When analyzing the perception part of the survey (question 5) all responses have been included, even when other statements were not responded to by the respondent. This means that the data might be either positively or negatively skewed because respondents are more likely to skip the statements they have no (strong) opinion about. No specific measures have been taken to correct for this. From these 114 surveys 96 were filled in and returned on the spot, 18 were taken home by respondents and collected at a later stage. The surveys were available in 3 languages: English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

Table 2: Collected surveys per language

Language:	English	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Total
Collected directly	2	77	17	96
Collected later		12	6	18
Total	2	89	23	114
Fully completed interviews	1	22	0	23

Out of the seven farms included in this research, surveys were administered on five of them. At the two other farms the farmer did not want me to distribute the survey but allowed me to do focus group discussions. The sizes of farms differed considerably, as did the number of surveys collected at each location. This is illustrated by Table 3. The names of the farms are fictional and when referring to specific farm workers pseudonyms are used.

Table 3: Collected surveys per farm

Diersesig (100 permanent workers)	46
Eiehuis (~30 permanent workers)	8
Pompeblad (~30 permanent workers)	19
Mooisig (~60 permanent workers)	37
Skipkyk (55 permanent workers)	4
Sparkle (160 permanent workers)	0
Heuvelsig (30-40 permanent workers)	0

2.6 Opportunities and limitations

Concluding, it can be said that the methodological choices for this study were driven by practical considerations. The choices generated both opportunities and limitations. The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods has been instrumental to the opportunities. The qualitative data reflect the opinions farm workers, farmers and experts. The inclusion of experts allows for the contextualization and understanding of specific responses. The focus group discussions and collected literature/publications further aid in this.

The quantitative part of this study serves two purposes. Firstly, by including the worker's perspective towards empowerment it provides a essential supplement to the views of farmers and industry experts. Secondly it helps to bring forward the views of workers on a specific set of questions deemed important by me. Through the interviews and FGDs room was provided for personal (unstructured) input from workers on issues not covered by the survey. The combination of interviewing, focus group discussions and surveys ensured that the worker's perspective is fully included in this study, just as the views of farmers and third parties.

The limitations are to be found in the non-representativeness of this study. The fact that the targeted informants were hard to reach, combined with time and resource constraints enforced a convenience sample. It is a case study. In general however, it is believed that the choice of methods provide the best combination of information collection within the imposed constraints.

"If the vineyards are looking nicely, he should say so, it makes me feel proud and appreciated"

- Anonymous farm worker

Chapter 3 – Terminology and theoretical framework

I will firstly elaborate on the terminology used throughout this thesis to avoid ambiguity (§3.1). I then proceed by discussing theoretical aspects involved in the creation of priorities and perceptions of farm workers (§3.2). The establishment of this theoretical framework serves to analyze the empirical data of this study.

3.1 Concepts

Many concepts used in this thesis could be understood in an ambiguous manner. By elaborating on how I interpret and use them I attempt to avoid confusion.

Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment

Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) is an affirmative action policy framework designed by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in South Africa and was enacted in 2003. It seeks to promote a more equal distribution of South Africa's wealth in a way that benefits as many people as possible. It's beneficiaries are previously disadvantaged people.

Previously disadvantaged people

With this term I refer to black people, people who identify themselves as coloured and Indians.¹⁰ All these people suffered from discrimination before and during the Apartheid regime. This group includes sub-groups such as women, youth and people with disabilities (Republic of South Africa, 2004). All these groups together are referred to as "blacks" by the DTI which is responsible for the B-BBEE policy. Therefore, B-BBEE basically encompasses all non-whites. It is however more respectful, to refer to previously disadvantaged people/individuals as black people, coloured people or Indians.

Empowerment

Empowerment, in the context of this thesis, is the material and/or immaterial progress one experiences in the different aspects of life, which allows one to be a more complete person able to pursue one's own aspirations in the personal, social and professional sphere.

¹⁰ People who identified themselves as coloured will hereafter be referred to as "coloured respondents".

Farmer

With farmer I refer to the owner/manager of the farm. He or she is also in control of the (in)formal empowerment processes on his or her farm.

Farm workers: casual, temporary or permanent worker¹¹

Farm workers are employees of a farm. They can be casual, temporary or permanent workers. Casual workers are workers with the lowest job security; they have no (formal) contract. They are hired on a job-to-job or day-by-day basis, either by the farmer or via a labour contractor. Temporary workers are hired for somewhat longer periods such as during the harvesting season after which their contracts are not renewed/extended. Permanent workers have a contract and relatively high levels of job security and other benefits. They remain employed, even in the off-seasons.

Life skills/Technical skills

Life skills are skills which not exclusively relate to one's ability to carry out his/her job. These concern but are not limited to, health issues (HIV/AIDS knowledge, alcoholism, etc.), financial issues (the usage of bank accounts, how to save income, etc.) and parental issues (how to raise children).

Technical skills refer to skills directly influencing one's job skills. This can involve a wide range of skills such as pruning, winemaking, tractor driving, etc.

(neo-)Paternalism

Paternalism refers to the situation where the farmer controls (virtually) every aspect of the worker's life. In such a situation, farmers have great control over the worker's life and while it can be benevolent it often results in strong top-down behavior whereby the farmer decides what is best. Neo-paternalism refers to the situation described above where – in present times - certain aspects are controlled by the government (such as minimum wages or working hours).

¹¹ Some literature uses the term 'seasonal' instead of temporary. This is due to the fact that most temporary work is directly related to seasonal demands for employment, e.g.: during the harvesting season.

3.2 Theoretical framework

Empowerment as a process connects to a multitude of theories depending on which approach one takes. In this thesis empowerment is predominantly approached from a sociological perspective. I will firstly discuss how affirmative action policies address inequality. Recognizing that inequality is something inherent within societies I will not discuss inequality itself. By understanding the usage, rationale behind, and shortcomings/critiques on affirmative action policies a lens is constructed through which the process of empowerment on South African wine farms can be understood. The second theoretical component deals with the perceptions of farm workers towards their own empowerment, and is related to their priorities and needs.

3.2.1 Affirmative action

Affirmative action has different names in various contexts, such as: positive action, economic empowerment, positive discrimination etc. They, to a large extent however do mean the same. Throughout this thesis affirmative action is used when referring to certain policies while *empowerment* is generally used to describe the process people experience (as a result of affirmative action policies). Affirmative action can take two directions according to McHarg and Nicolson (2006, p. 2). They distinguish between hard and soft affirmative action, other authors term these actions either *direct* or *indirect* policies (CRISE). Hard affirmative action refers to “*decision-making-preferences*” such as quotas. These are the policies we most frequently hear about and represent the most intrusive form of affirmative action. Examples of such hard policies are India’s Reservation policies and Zimbabwe’s land reform programs. India’s Reservation policies address the political, economical and social exclusion of ‘scheduled casts’ and ‘scheduled tribes’. This is enforced through reserving seats in the different levels of government according to “*that group’s share of the total state population in the last preceding census*” (Chin & Prakash, 2011). Zimbabwe’s land reform programs targeted the (white) ownership of agricultural land (Scoones et al., 2010). Soft affirmative action refers to actions such as outreach programs helping disadvantaged groups to compete on more equal terms with more privileged groups in society (cf.: Wydick, 2000). Soft affirmative action programs are less criticized because they are less intrusive and it is more difficult to identify to who’s detriment they are. The balance between hard and soft affirmative action affects the level of support policies have in the eye of the public (Bobocel et al., 1998). This conceptual distinction is however not always considered to be a useful one as some people prefer to use one phrase covering all actions taken “*to counteract the effects of exclusion, discrimination and stereotyping of specific groups, with the aim of creating a more equitable society*” (European Commission on Employment, 2009, p. 34). In practice, hard and soft affirmative action often take place simultaneously or are combined by e.g.

setting 'desired quotas'. B-BBEE can be seen as a combination of hard and soft affirmative action. Hard in the sense that it sets quotas (e.g.: the 'Equity Ownership' scorecard component) but soft since compliance is often voluntary and other components of B-BBEE such as skills or socio-economic development cannot be classified as hard.

The definition propagated by Sabbagh (2004, p. 1) defines affirmative action as encompassing

“any measure that allocates goods – such as [but not limited to] admission into universities, jobs, promotions, public contracts, business loans, and rights to buy and sell land – on the basis of membership in a designated group, for the purpose of increasing the proportion of members of that group in the relevant labor force, entrepreneurial class, or university student population, where they are currently underrepresented as a result of past or present discrimination.”

This broad definition allows both public and private actions on a variety of issues. This is particularly useful in the context of this thesis as many of the initiatives which will be discussed are privately initiated and address a variety of problems facing the disadvantaged community such as education, job discrimination, etc. As such, affirmative action as used in this thesis, is a holistic concept. It includes both public and private initiatives addressing the barriers previously disadvantaged groups face in terms of achieving *substantive* equality. Substantive inequality is rarely explicitly defined and when it is these definitions differ widely (Barnard & Hepple, 2000). However, the concept implies equality beyond legal equality (non-discrimination). In the South African context equality of outcomes is pursued rather than equality of opportunities. This is illustrated by the focus on employment equity (through quotas) and the focus on increasing ownership of the economy by black people.

Justification of affirmative action

Affirmative action policies are commonly created for both moral (ethical) and practical reasons. This combination of moral and practical justification forms the debate around affirmative action.¹² As many arguments within this debate are to a certain extent both moral and practical the hereafter used distinctions are merely an attempt to clarify the debate and are not rigid distinctions.

Affirmative action policies exist *“to secure substantive rather than merely formal equality”* (McHarg & Nicolson, 2006, p. 7). They *“switch the focus from the individual victim to the disadvantaged group, and place the initiative on those in the best position to address institutional and structural barriers to*

¹² The legal justification will not be covered here because empowerment in South Africa is a given reality. Whether or not it is legal is a very different discussion differing from country to country and policy to policy. I therefore think it would serve little purpose here, especially since this thesis addresses an existing policy.

equality regardless of fault or individual responsibility” (Ibid., p. 5). This directly addresses the point Sabbagh (2004, p. 22) makes that those bearing the costs of affirmative action often cannot be attributed with any wrongdoing nor is it always easy to identify how a beneficiary has been personally harmed. Terreblanche (2002, p. 5) confirms that this argument also applies to South Africa where many whites, especially the young, feel they did nothing wrong and thus should not be blamed for the consequences of past injustices. From this we can distinguish two central issues.

1) Formal (legal) equality can be (considerably) different from reality. This is illustrated through the concept of a glass ceiling and is often related to groups that have been marginalized, either by virtue of being a (economic) minority (e.g.: non-white South Africans, immigrants) or through entrenched behavioral patterns (e.g.: gender roles). There are few, if any, legal barriers to the advancement of minorities within a society yet empirically there often are. The systemic inability or unwillingness of current structures (economic, social etc.) to reform themselves into equal environments, is then used as an argument in favor of affirmative action policies. Examples can be found in e.g. education where race is not a legal reason to reject applicants, tuition fees however might pose a disproportionate obstacle for certain groups. Legally these groups might have similar opportunities but in practice there are constraints, thus preventing members of these groups from competing with others on equal terms.

2) Those with the ability to effect change, have an obligation to do so, irrespective of their personal involvement in the perpetuation of (that specific) wrongdoing/inequality. The premise is that it is immoral not to act when a group within society is harmed on unjust grounds, especially when one can contribute to solving the problem. The moral component of empowerment can thus be seen as a form of *corrective justice*. Reynolds (1992, p. 42) observes that the idea was that *“If a racial preference would produce the desired statistical result, [...], its discriminatory feature could be tolerated as an unfortunate but necessary consequence of remedying the effects of past discrimination.”*

This places the burden of affirmative action on people who have not directly benefitted from/contributed to the disadvantage of others.¹³ A second point of criticism is that affirmative action policies create a *slippery slope*. This means that while some groups might have certain strong (historical, sociological and political) foundations for their claims to affirmative action, granting them

¹³ A minor moral objection to affirmative action policies is that those benefiting from it (e.g.: by admission into a university) are highly burdened by the expectation conferred upon them. This however rarely occurs as a major objection within the academic literature.

special rights will pave the way for groups with weaker claims (Sabbagh, p. 34).¹⁴ The logical extension of this is that one can indefinitely keep setting new policies trying to create 'objective' balance. This critique however does not fundamentally challenge affirmative action but rather the extent to which it should go. Moreover, in South Africa the link between past injustices and current inequality is undisputable making this criticism less applicable (Terreblanche, 2002).

Dehierarchization as a result of affirmative action

Whether or not affirmative action policies are successful depends on their objectives and evaluation criteria. Nonetheless, affirmative action is often intended as "*an instrument of social dehierarchization*" and its success can be measured by that (Sabbagh, 2004, p. 24). If successful, the entire society can benefit from affirmative action. At the individual level previously disadvantaged individuals have more opportunities. At a group level the differences vis-à-vis other groups decreased. For society as a whole this would mean a more integrated and equal society which is generally considered as something good and desirable. Closely related is the idea that affirmative action acknowledges the benefits of, and need for, multiculturalism.

The impact of affirmative action policies regarding education, income or employment are at best ambiguous and range from negative to positive (c.f.: Sabbagh, 2004; Leonard, 1990; Carlson & Swartz, 1988) and everything in between (Leonard, 1989). Some of the aforementioned studies such as Leonard (1990) suggest that extra care must be taken when interpreting employment data. Advances in one sphere such as total employment might obfuscate (a lack of) occupational advancement. In such cases one hierarchy (aggregate employment) might change while others (level of employment) remain unchanged.

Sabbagh also introduces *multicultural diversity* as an objective where the policy focus is not (solely) on correcting past injustices but on stimulating/guaranteeing diversity and the value ascribed to it (2004, p. 23).¹⁵ This mostly refers to the value of having people with differing backgrounds within a certain environment (Perloff & Bryant, 2000).¹⁶ Yet, as this does not seem to be the *prime* focus of empowerment in South Africa it is left out of the discussion here.

¹⁴ An example being Afro- or native Americans who put down a strong claim who are then followed by recent immigrants who (might) lack historical or political ground for their claims.

¹⁵ Some criticisms to this multicultural diversity approach include that: 1) multiculturalism is not always necessary outside human institutions, e.g. in the hard sciences; 2) the distinguishing category (e.g.: race, gender) is a: not necessarily correlated with a diversity of viewpoints, and, b: it is not always clear why exactly it is chosen as relevant selection criteria over e.g. ideological conviction. This questioning of race (or any other category) as a proxy for diversity applies particularly to educational affirmative action (Sabbagh, 2004).

¹⁶ e.g.: a classroom, university or members of a project-team.

By officially designating one particular group as disadvantaged an additional stigma on this particular group is created. In turn this leads to the perpetuation of dichotomous thinking within society thereby defying the dehierarchization argument (Sabbagh, 2004, p. 26).¹⁷ Or, as Reynolds (1992, p. 43) puts it: *“that [policy] encouraged stereotyping and that invited people to view others as possessors of racial characteristics, not as unique individuals.”* This idea is reiterated again by Hamilton Krieger stating that: *“So long as social category boundaries remain salient, intergroup discrimination will persist”* (1998, p. 1331).

Similar concerns apply to sub-groups within a disadvantaged group. Policies sometimes internally differentiate between the beneficiaries (e.g.: between men and women).¹⁸ The justification is as follows: when no attention to internal differentiation is paid, dehierarchization might be achieved for the entire group while perpetuating existing intra-group hierarchies. As a result the dominant sub-group reaps the majority of the policy’s benefits. In more extreme cases, it might even create new categories within societies such as South Africa. Where the pre-majority rule elite consisted of whites, this racial distinction is now declining while the gap between the haves and have nots increases (Terreblanche, 2002, p. 29). In practice dehierarchization is therefore always a question of prioritizing which hierarchies are addressed by specific policies.

Meritocracy and affirmative action

One of the greatest criticisms facing affirmative action revolves concerns meritocracy and the question whether more qualified members of society are (unfairly) limited in their own advancement. The logical consequence being that an institution or company will perform sub-optimal by conforming to affirmative action.¹⁹

This criticism is not limited to the meritocracy within the entire population but also among beneficiaries from the policy. Sabbagh suggests there is often a mismatch between how much an individual benefits in relation to how much that individual is harmed by the system (2004, p. 22). Those most likely to benefit from affirmative action frequently belong to the elite of the disadvantaged group. Some elite-formation could be acceptable, or even desirable, as it has as side-

¹⁷ This does not prevent the policy from reaching other goals it might have such as (more) balanced representation. It does however mean that new/stronger differentiating belief systems are created/perpetuated. It is up to the beholder to weigh which is more important.

¹⁸ In this respect South Africa’s B-BBEE policy differentiates by according twice the value to learnerships for black women in comparison to black men, see also chapter 6.

¹⁹ This does not imply that there are no benefits to multi-culturalism as being from a different background can endow individuals with certain valued competencies. In that case, the candidate’s background is just one of the characteristics making him/her a good candidate for that.

effect role models emerge. But whether one can truly serve as a role model if the achievements are not solely based on their merit is debatable. Personally, I think there will always be negative connotations connected to role models emanating from affirmative action. It will be impossible to completely detach their achievements from being considered, by some, as tokenistic in nature (European Commission on Employment, 2009). Nonetheless, they can still be useful by inspiring others.

A related fundamental critique is that affirmative action stimulates both inter- and intra-group conflicts and discrimination (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006). Other groups would be unfairly worse off due to policies. The more important one characteristic (e.g.: race) is in making decisions, the more resistance groups with other characteristics develop against the policy. The fact that people are included/excluded irrespective of their individual traits causes resentment. By not focusing on merit, affirmative action entrenches racial stereotypes and suggests that beneficiaries only achieve their successes by virtue of being different (Carter, 1992).

3.2.2 Priorities and perceptions

One of the foci of this thesis is to see whether the priorities of farm workers align with those of the farmers. The next step therefore is to better comprehend the priorities and perceptions of workers. Data on this have been collected by means of a survey (see chapter 5). Our understanding of the responses is aided by literature on needs and aspirations. The following is a brief overview of major theories on human needs. It helps to categorize responses provided in chapter five. It should be acknowledged that there are no right or wrong categorizations. Responses often, whichever theory is used, (can) belong to, or influence, multiple categories.

Maslow's theory of human motivation

Maslow's *"A theory of human motivation"* (1943) provides a good starting point. He identifies five categories of needs. The first being the most basic. Achieving satisfaction in higher categories is dependent on the (partial) satisfaction of the preceding need(s). According to Maslow these needs are: 1) physiological needs, 2) safety needs, 3) love needs, 4) esteem needs, and, 5) the need for self-actualization.

Physiological needs are the most fundamental needs. They refer to the need to have sufficient food. If this need is not met the four other needs are not/less important. When one is desperately hungry, s/he will be completely consumed by the need for food, crowding out all other thoughts. Yet, as soon as this need is met, new needs arise, or, as Maslow (p. 375) puts it *"a want that is satisfied is no*

longer a want." Safety needs deal with a sense of security in life and are also reflected in *"the common preference for a job with tenure and protection, the desire for a savings account, and for insurance of various kinds..."* (p. 379). Insurance is defined broadly and includes medical insurance and pensions. Love needs form the third category and refer to one's need for love, affection and a sense of belonging. It thus also includes the desire to have a place within a group or community. Esteem needs refer to the desire of people to have at least some self-esteem and self-respect, including the appreciation by others. *"Satisfaction of the self-esteem need leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability and adequacy of being useful and necessary in the world. But thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness and of helplessness"* (p. 382). The highest need is that of self-actualization. Self-actualization is the desire of one to *"become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming"* (ibid).

Alderfer's alternative approach to human needs

Alderfer (1969) developed an alternative approach based on what he calls the *E.R.G. needs*. Existence, relatedness and growth. This approach addresses shortcomings in Maslow's work, the main critique being that there is an overlap between the needs categories.

Existence needs are *"material and physiological desires. [which] can be divided among people in such a way that one person's gain is another's loss when resources are limited."* Relatedness needs are all needs/desires concerning the relationships one maintains with others. Its satisfaction depends on the ability to share feelings and thoughts with others whereby all involved parties are considered to be equal. It means to be heard and seen by others. Regardless of whether this sharing is positive or negative one wants to feel connected to others. The third need, growth, includes *"all the needs which involve a person making creative or productive effects on himself and the environment"* (pp. 145-146). Satisfaction of this need requires that a person has the ability to develop additional capacities bringing him/her closer to what s/he desires.

The distinctions suggested by Maslow or Alderfer are however not rigid and people can desire various needs simultaneously. However, *"a person will want the more basic of two needs when deprived in both"* (Maslow, 1943, p. 386). Alderfer supports this when writing that *"as a person fulfills the more concrete aspects of his desires, more of his energy becomes available to deal with the less concrete, more personal, and more uncertain aspects of living"* (1969, p. 151). Furthermore, the interconnection of needs and the way they are satisfied means that one action can influence the satisfaction of multiple needs.

A recurring theme in literature concerns (permanently) lowered ambitions among people. Maslow suggests that one's aspirations might be permanently lowered if that person lives life at a very low level for an extensive period of time. Someone experiencing "*chronic unemployment may continue to be satisfied for the rest of his life if only he can get enough food*" (p. 386). Along similar lines Alderfer (1969, p. 152) writes that "*By their very nature growth needs are intrinsically satisfying. The more a person grows, the more he wants to grow; the less he grows the less he desires to grow.*" This insight helps to explain the limited ambition among elderly respondents in chapter 5. It also helps understanding why the older workers on wine farms often seem 'at peace' with their situation.

Gottfredson's theory on occupational aspirations

Whereas Maslow and Alderfer look at needs from a highly individualistic point of view, Gottfredson (1981) looks specifically at how one's environment plays a role in shaping a person's aspirations. Needs and aspirations are not words that can be used interchangeably but they are closely related. They are two ends of the same continuum: needs reflect deficits in the level of satisfaction and aspirations are the direction in which one wants to move.

Gottfredson (1981) illustrates that one's occupational aspiration is a combination of self-concept and occupational image. The self-concept is determined by gender, social class, intelligence, interests and values. The occupational image is determined by sextype, prestige level and field of work. This combination leads to individual occupational preferences. These preferences are then combined with perceptions of job accessibility, resulting in a range of acceptable occupational alternatives (pp. 547-548). Various elements of this theory are included in the survey that has been distributed among farm workers. Another valuable insight explains how certain barriers lead to compromises in shaping one's perception of occupations. People first compromise on vocational interests, then on the job level and finally on the sextype associated with the particular occupation. "*Compromises continue until eventually most people report being in the type of work they want*" (p. 549). This learns us that few of the responses to the survey are black/white and that they must be interpreted in relation to one's individual characteristics, the societal setting and the opportunities available to the person. In South Africa, high unemployment and the history of labour relations and treatment of workers (see chapter 4) are therefore important components which influence the aspirations people have. This context directly influences the empowerment related expectations and perceptions of farm workers.

Linking empowerment and expectations

The self-reinforcing principle that lowers people's aspirations as described above, also works the other way around. As people become more involved in a company and more empowered, they will *desire* more empowerment. This desire grows beyond previous aspirations (as the fulfillment of a need leads to new needs). When this new appetite for empowerment is not met, there will be disappointment and frustration with the initial beneficiary, in this case the farm worker (Paul et al., 2000). Paul et al. (2000) identify four components that are essential for employees to feel empowered. These are *"information (about processes, quality, customer feedback and events), knowledge (of the work, the business and the total work system), power (to act and make decisions about all aspects of work) and rewards (tied to business results and growth in capability and contribution) to work autonomously or independently of management control and direction."* (p. 473). When these components are sufficiently satisfied workers will be more productive to the company. This makes empowerment also beneficial to the employer, the farmer.²⁰ Moreover, *"if work tasks allow people to use their skills, make responsible decisions, and learn new skills their intellectual capacity and life satisfaction will grow, and they will develop a healthy self-esteem and a sense of personal control"* (Paul et al., 2000, p. 475). Through empowerment workers can thus reach 'higher' levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. As a result new aspirations will start to develop restarting the cycle. Empowerment can thus also be understood as relative in comparison to others, as well as relative in regard to oneself. When a worker feels that s/he is not provided with the opportunities for his/her own empowerment, especially where these expectations previously have been created, a psychological contract is broken. In the South African context, the (political) attention devoted to empowerment and a societal transformation has certainly played a role in creating aspirations (see chapter 4). This has created a sense of entitlement among workers which in turn is not (fully) met by those who hold the effective power to change the systemic forces perpetuating the current inequality. By not meeting these expectations workers become disillusioned. Yet, as they have nowhere else to go, they continue to work at the farm, but with lower self-esteem and lowered aspirations as described by the compromise system of Gottfredson (1981).²¹

²⁰ The authors suggest, on the basis of organizational science research that empowerment beyond a certain point no longer yields benefits to the company. This thesis however discusses empowerment at the lowest level of employment so this 'optimum level' from a business administration perspective is not considered.

²¹ Workers face difficulty in going elsewhere due to a lack of employment opportunities, limited skill set, limited (social) mobility, etc.

3.3 Affirmative action, priorities and perceptions

An overview has been given of the theoretical aspects concerning affirmative action and how this relates to South Africa. Furthermore, the creation of priorities and perceptions has been discussed. Through this framework, analysis of the empowerment processes in South Africa is enhanced. In the wine industry there are both hard (quotas) and soft (educational outreach programs/subsidies) processes at play. There is a combination of both official (government instigated) and private sector initiatives. Compliance with the government's B-BBEE policy is however limited due to insufficient state capacity and the limitations arising from the B-BBEE framework. Chapter 6 will analyze these obstacles more deeply by looking into what exactly is being done by whom.

The South African government pursues empowerment to achieve substantive rather than only legal equality (although the formation of politically connected elites weakens this argument).²² The government considers farmers to be the most able stakeholder to address the structural problems of their own industry (such as land distribution, racial hierarchies in job distribution, etc.). Therefore the government demands farmers change this, irrespective of whether or not an individual farmer contributed to these problems. As such, it is a form of corrective justice. Farmers on the other hand pursue empowerment for a variety of moral and practical reasons.²³ Understanding the dynamics of affirmative action aids in understanding the critiques farmers have on empowerment and how workers are affected by the specific implementation of an empowerment initiative on a farm. It especially helps in understanding issues around the question if all workers are benefitting from empowerment. Both chapter 5 and 6 deal with the question whether or not substantive equality can be achieved through empowerment.

The discussion on needs and aspirations directly addresses the expectations and perceptions respondents have. How people expect to benefit from empowerment is directly based upon their personal priorities while their perceptions of empowerment are influenced by the way these needs are being addressed by affirmative action. It would however be a fallacy to approach needs and aspirations from a narrow individualistic viewpoint. An approach in which a person's societal background is included provides a deepened understanding of individual's preferences. This background is what I will turn to in chapter 4.

Farm workers are one of the two groups I focus on in this thesis, the other being farmers. Various independent variables such as employment status, gender and race will be considered in the analysis

²² Examples of this can be found in many places, South Africa being just one of the examples (cf.: Southall, 2006a; Southall, 2006b; Nattrass, 2013).

²³ Please see chapter six for an overview of reasons of why farmers initiate empowerment projects.

to see how these relate to the priorities and expectations of farm workers. Chapter 5 deals with the perspective of farm workers. The analysis of the entirety of survey questions complements this so we can see if the responses of farm workers give an indication whether or not the goals of affirmative action (substantive equality, dehierarchization, etc.,) are reached. Through this, insight is gained in how this case study fits in the broader literature on affirmative action (chapter 8).

Farmers are the second main analytical group. Their priorities and experiences are shaped in different ways and by different actors or power relations but the same theoretical frameworks on affirmative action and needs/priorities will be applied in analyzing their responses. Chapter 6 looks at the factors influencing their attitudes towards empowerment and the way in which they themselves pursue empowerment of farm workers and to which ends.

The South African government is another main actor when it comes to affirmative action, and priorities and perceptions of empowerment. The government has an undeniable impact on the way both farm workers and farmers approach empowerment. Even though many of the farmers in this case study are not formally complying with the B-BBEE policy it nonetheless shapes empowerment processes strongly. It sets some priorities which farmers can address even when they do not comply with all demands (such as ownership, skills development, etc.). Simultaneously B-BBEE generates expectations among both farm workers and farmers, especially in terms of expected support and benefits. As such, B-BBEE as an affirmative action policy strongly influences actions undertaken by all actors involved in the empowerment of farm workers.

"They don't always want to spend their free time on empowerment activities." – Anonymous farmer

Chapter 4 - Contextualizing the labour and empowerment environment

This thesis is based on fieldwork conducted on seven wine farms in the Stellenbosch area of the Western Cape province in South Africa. It focuses on the opinions farm workers and farmers have regarding farm worker empowerment. Farm workers and farmers have a shared history dating back more than 350 years and is characterized by unequal power relations. Therefore, in order to understand the current empowerment context and practices it is imperative to understand the relations between farm workers, farmers and the state. This chapter firstly presents a birds-eye view of the wine industry. Section 4.2 then illustrates how, in the course of centuries, these relations have been formed to what they are now. Labour relations are however but one part shaping the current empowerment context. In §4.3 I therefore also briefly elaborate on past and current (non)governmental empowerment initiatives and the strikes that took place in the South African agricultural sector late 2012/early 2013. All these subjects warrant their own extensive research and this chapter does not try to be exhaustive. This chapter rather explains the context within which empowerment expectations and perceptions exist and are shaped.

4.1 A birds-eye view of the wine industry

The context of this study, the South African wine industry, is a large and complex one with 55 "*Wine industry organizations and education bodies*". There are 3.527 primary grape producers and 582 processing cellars which are divided over nine regions and in 2011 produced a total of 831.2 million liters of wine.²⁴ Primary wine producers had an income of R3.59b²⁵, the state received R4.2b in income from VAT and excise duties and the total contribution of the wine industry to South Africa's economy is estimated at R26.2b equating 2.2% of South Africa's GDP.²⁶ This all results in a total of 60.522 people being directly employed on wine farms and cellars. The total number of employment opportunities supported by the wine industry is estimated at 275.606 (VinPro, 2012, p. 23). From

²⁴ Earlier on, I cited Ewert & du Toit who talked mentioned 4500 wine farms. The current figure is lower as indicated by the VinPro data cited here. This is testimony of the consolidation that is taking place within the wine industry where many farmers are quitting selling their farms or moving into other (more profitable) forms of agriculture.

²⁵ The average exchange rate over 2012 was: R1 = USD 0.12; R1 = EUR 0.09. Exchange rates calculated based on <http://www.x-rates.com/average/?from=ZAR&to=USD&amount=1&year=2012>, retrived on 30 July 2013.

²⁶ The employment figures and annual impact is based on 2009 figures, the rest on those of 2011.

these 275.606 job opportunities that are created 58% can be classified as unskilled, 29% as semi-skilled and 13% as skilled labour (SAWIS, 2009, p. 37).

The wine industry is particularly important for the Western Cape as most wine-related activities are concentrated there (farms, industry bodies, etc). Currently there are 5.822.734 people living in the Western Cape of which 1.847.000 (or ~31.5%) are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2012, p. ix). The demographic makeup of the province is interesting: it is the only province where black people constitute a minority (32.8%) compared to coloured people (48.8%). Whites represent 15.7% of the Western Cape population (Statistics South Africa, 2012a). The Western Cape is also the only province governed by the Democratic Alliance (DA) instead of the African National Congress (ANC). Cultural and racial explanations are often given²⁷, as is the way in which the DA and ANC campaigned prior to elections. The perceived in/exclusiveness of other parties²⁸ is also a frequently heard explanation for the different voting behavior in the Western Cape (Eldridge & Seekings, 1996; Habib & Schulz Herzenberg, 2011).

Financially speaking recent years have seen a decline in grape wine income and even though many people can still run a profitable business, the sector as a whole is struggling. Wine farming is not very profitable and most new entrants have made their fortune elsewhere or inherited their property (Vink, 2012). The high costs of purchasing and developing new wine properties prevents people without substantive amounts of private capital, such as farm workers, from entering the industry. Loans are often not a viable option and are unaffordable to many because the profit derived from wine farming is often insufficient to cover the interest payments on loans, even if one manages to make a profit in the highly competitive market (Williams, 2005, p. 479).

4.2 A brief history of labour relations on wine farms in the Western Cape

This section deals with the development of labour relations between farm workers and farmers through three distinct periods of South African history: (1) slavery; (2) the period from the emancipation of slavery until the ending of Apartheid and (3) the post-apartheid era.²⁹ The

²⁷ Cultural explanation: coloured people and Whites share the same language and sometimes the same religion. Racial explanation: coloured people allegedly have a racist attitude towards black people and fear that 'their' Western Cape will be taken over (Western, 2001).

²⁸ South African voters consider 'their' party to represent all South Africans while other parties are perceived to be race-based (Habib & Schulz Herzenberg, 2011).

²⁹ Some authors would argue that that period between the early 1980s and early 1990s is a distinct 'transition' period in South Africa's farm labour history because from the early 1980s legislation started playing an increasingly important role (Williams, 2005). Other authors such as Terreblance (2002), albeit in a slightly

description is organized in terms of *availability of workers* and the *governing of farm relations*. The latter includes both the relations between the farmer and his labourers and between the farmer and the central state. By focusing on worker availability and control over labour relations the entrenched nature of paternalism within the farm environment is illustrated (Ewert & du Toit, 2005). What appears is that despite *and* due to changes within the labour relations in the Western Cape conservative views regarding paternalism and self-governance rather than state-governance have become institutionalized affecting contemporary views towards farm worker empowerment.³⁰

4.2.1 Labour relations during the slavery period

Availability of workers

Ever since vines started to be planted in the Western Cape in the second half of the 1650s whites and their capital controlled the sector. Principal to our understanding of the dynamics regarding the agricultural industry in general – and in the Western Cape in particular – is that this industry is extremely labour intensive. Prior to the worldwide abolition of slavery, farm labour could simply be commanded. Slave labour was however only available to the wealthier farmers of the Western Cape (Terreblanche, 2002). The ever growing agricultural sector required a constant ‘fresh’ supply of slaves (Ross, 1983). Since slaves had no mobility the wealth of the farmer, rather than the willingness of slaves to work for him, determined the availability of workers. To supplement slave labour there was a system of indentureship or ‘*inboekelingskap*’ where Khoisan were practically forced into labour until they reached the age of 25 (Terreblanche, 2002, pp. 163-168).

Governing farm relations

Equally important is that the relationship between farmer and slave was not restricted to work. It also involved a complex set of values and ideologies guiding these relations. Farmers, although to an increasingly smaller extent, saw/see themselves as benevolent masters. Terreblanche (2002, p. 160) posits that this is the consequence of the Roman-Dutch legal system which held the master (male white farmer) responsible for the behavior of his slaves who were also seen as his infant children.

different context, use six periods in which a distinction is also made between Dutch and English rule. However, for the purpose of this context-sketch the distinction used here will suffice.

³⁰ While this chapter treats farm workers and farmers as homogenous groups in terms of values and approaches towards labour (relations) one should keep in mind that considerable differences among farmers existed and continue to exist. This should not preclude us from taking a look at the sector as a whole, even if this inevitably leads to generalizations.

This reinforced patriarchal relations and ideologies which are the foundation of the paternalist farm relations.

Workers depend(ed) on the farm for everything and the farmers (ab)used this. Food, housing, money, etc., were all controlled by the hierarchical relation between farmer and worker. In essence, the farm was a relatively closed environment constituting 'the family' of those living on it (du Toit, 1993). Farm communities were/are tightly knit and, for a long time, (practically) self-governing and the state was kept as far away as possible (Dooling, 1992). Control over labour relations was something that farmers considered to be their exclusive domain and farmers were non-cooperative when the state tried to influence their treatment of slaves (Ross, 1983).

4.2.2 Labour relations after the abolition of slavery

Availability of workers

The abolition of slavery in 1834 and the effective emancipation of slaves in 1838 did temporarily complicate the availability of workers.³¹ Farmers now had to pay their former slaves to work for them. Dooling (1999) states that the first decade following the emancipation of 1838 was one of extreme difficulty to wine farmers who could or would not pay wages. Emancipation gave the former slaves unprecedented mobility enabling them to search for the best 'employment deal'. At this point in time the availability of workers was still limited granting the former slaves some kind of leverage in bargaining employment conditions. However, within a few years farmers managed *"to transform legal and quasi-legal bondage into other forms of dependency"* (Ross, 1993, p. 137) such as the *'dop stelsel'* or *'tot system'*.

The *tot* (or *dop*) system was beneficial to farmers in more than one way and served as a way to control workers. The *tot* system was a direct response to labour shortages created by the abolition of slavery. It provided labourers with (daily) rations of wine in lieu of wages creating a docile, alcoholic (and as such less productive) labour force. Worker's alcoholism was an incentive to stay and work on the farm because it provided a way to accommodate their addiction. The alcoholism of workers also manifested itself in indebtedness to canteen owners where they would drink when off the farm. Given the lack of wage-labour opportunities outside the farms, this drove people back onto the farms in order to pay off their debts (Scully, 1990, p. 55). Farmers however denied the alcoholism, emphasized that wine consumption had health benefits and insisted *"that they had always exercised*

³¹ After slavery formally ended slaves were kept for another four years as 'apprentices'. After this apprenticeship period they were truly freed. It is the ending of this apprenticeship period that is known as 'the emancipation of slaves'.

a moral responsibility for the welfare of their Coloured wards, which included regulating access to liquor" (Nugent, 2011, p. 346). This attitude illustrates that farm workers, according to farmers, were in need of protection. As such it served as a legitimization for the paternalist relations on the farm. Institutionalized alcoholism led to low self-esteem which in turn increased alcohol abuse and accompanying evils creating a self-perpetuating cycle.

Meanwhile, most farm workers and their families continued to live on the farm where the ever visible main farm house (and audible slave bell) ensured that the farmer never left the worker's life. Mission stations accommodated the freed slaves, but while providing some relief from the omnipresence of the farmer, they did not in the long run decrease the availability of workers. Rather, farmers who could and would pay for labour used these stations as reservoirs where they recruited workers during peak seasons. A lack of off-farm subsistence/income-generating opportunities and alcoholism kept driving people onto the farms. The only difference being that the workers now were no longer 'permanent workers' resulting in considerably less stable livelihoods.

Public works programs in the 1880s created new pressures for farmers seeking workers willing to work under traditional terms and conditions. Workdays on farms could be as long as 15 hours during the peak season whereas in the public works they were limited to 8 hours.³² Moreover the public works programs offered higher salaries. Farmers adapted to this development during the 1870-1900 period by offering workers housing on condition that they would work in the peak season while working elsewhere when they were not needed on the farm. This was however only an option for wealthier farmers and did not represent a radical break with the past. *"Even forty years after emancipation labourers were woken by the ringing of the old slave bell. This is once again indicative of how practices constantly reinforced the patterns of old behavior even if the legal and economic parameters had shifted"* (Scully, 1990, p. 81).

The end of the public works programs once again increased the availability of workers, as did the Natives Lands Act of 1913 which deprived black people of their (rights to) land.³³ A rapidly growing population within the reserves caused problems because land was too scarce/of too low quality to provide for all black people living there. As such, people sought alternatives and the labour supply increased (Feinberg, 1993; Terreblanche, 2002, p. 7).

³² Working days for farm workers are currently limited to 9h/day, 45h/week excluding overtime.

³³ This law was repealed in 1991. It did however ensure that the proportion of black living in the Western Cape remained low leading to a workforce on wine farms that was mostly comprised of coloured people.

Governing farm relations

The Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1841 and the Masters and Servants Act (1856) tied workers more tightly to the farms. It however also meant that the state now partly took over the governing function of the farmer by (formally) imposing rules of behavior, discipline and punishment. *“Class privilege and class power were now to be endorsed by contract rather than ownership of labor”* (Scully, 1990, p. 4). The state now had control over the labour market whereas previously farmers exerted this at an individual (farm) level. In practice however little changed, in part due to limited enforcement. Farmers resented the change nonetheless.

However, in times of crisis (directly following emancipation, the 1880s, 1896) farmers looked to the state to implement legislation that tied workers to farms. At the same time, any interference in the autonomy of the farmer and his relations with the farm workers was opposed. This is not contradictory but merely shows that farmers wanted to control every aspect of labour relations in terms favorable to them.

Understandably, farmers tried to control the processes of change in ways that suited their interests. It is therefore unsurprising that they were somewhat receptive to the Rural Foundation, a foundation started by Stellenbosch students in the late 1960s/early 1970s.³⁴ The Rural Foundation tried reconciling worker interests with those of farmers. By pursuing the improvement of housing conditions and providing additional services such as tv rooms and crèches the Rural Foundation pursued ‘upliftment’ of workers in collaboration with farmers (Bosman, 2012). Simultaneously, it was hoped these initiatives would *“also improve productivity and the poor image of the industry in the face of looming sanctions”* (Ewert & du Toit, 2005, p. 319). While these reforms withered after the ending of Apartheid, it is evidence of a capitalist transformation of relations whereby productivity is key. On the other hand, it once again ties the worker intensely to the farm. For this reason Ewert & du Toit (2005) describe this as the emergence of a neo-paternalist situation. As this was an initiative supported by some influential people from within the farming community, and did not originate from the government, the farmers did not feel threatened in their autonomy in regard to control over labour relations.

³⁴ Some cast doubt on whether the Rural Foundation was a initiative of benevolent students and posit that the Rural Foundation was an “initiative by the apartheid government, conservative overseas donors and farmers themselves; its programmes addressed alcoholism and other forms of 'social pathology' on the farm. 'Community' or 'Maison' committees comprising worker representatives served as the main vehicle towards this end.” (Ewert & du Toit, 2005, p. 319).

4.2.3 Post-Apartheid labour relations

Availability of workers

Ewert & du Toit argue that, in the modern globalized world, not everyone manages to secure a job as a permanent worker, adding to the ever growing casual labour pool. After a brief rise in both permanent and aggregate employment Ewert & du Toit identify a shift towards the casualization of labour starting after the turn of the millennium (2005, p. 327). Given the huge unemployment in South Africa – and the Western Cape in particular –, farmers or labour brokers can simply drive their *bakkie* (truck) to a street corner and ask who is willing to work that day for a certain amount. This oversupply of labour presses wages and perpetuates the uncertainty and marginalization that comes with non-permanent employment. The non-enforceability of labour laws puts this group at an increased risk of exploitation by farmers/labour brokers. Currently, 1.847.000 people are unemployed in the Western Cape and this figure rises every year, especially as employment creation does not keep up with population growth and migration (Statistics South Africa, 2012b, p. ix). This trend towards the casualization of labour is likely to continue as 47% farmers themselves indicate a wish to reduce permanent labour (du Toit & Ewert, 2002, p. 93). This labour force is not replaced by machines but by casual workers. Casual workers are not offered the benefits that (might) come with permanent employment, like on-farm housing, (health) insurance or educational provisions for their children.

The over-availability of workers also works as a brake on the penetration of unions into the agricultural sector. Farmers prefer to settle disputes internally keeping up the appearance of a respectable business. For workers there is also the fear of being retrenched if they make a fuss and contact unions. In addition, many workers distrust labour unions for a variety of reasons.³⁵ In the end, both farm workers and farmers have a vested interest in the well-being of the farm. If a worker threatens this, he is easily retrenched and replaced by one of the many dwellers seeking employment.

Governing farm relations

Up until today the major obstacle facing those willing to change labour relations is the *“intensely local and self-contained nature of farmyard politics. Farm workers will find it difficult to form links with each other over farm boundaries - let alone to become part of larger regional and national struggles”* (du Toit, 1993, p. 334). The limited physical and social mobility and distrust towards

³⁵ Workers often do not feel properly represented by unions who collect membership fees but then do not act when help is needed.

unions, provides further understanding on why trade union membership continues to be low (c.f.: Ewert & Hamman, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2011). The consequence being that farmers can continue to be “*the boss, judge and mayor*” of their farm as one farmer interviewed during my fieldwork jokingly said.³⁶

The agricultural sector in the Western Cape is not impervious to the processes of globalization and the competition that comes along with it. Already in the 1990s du Toit (1993, p. 326) noted that “*Management consultants argue that the only way of building worker motivation is to give workers greater responsibility, and a greater stake in the success of the farm. Workers' place on the farm vis-a-vis the farmer should thus be reconceptualised. Instead of being 'children', they should be seen as partners in a business enterprise*”. Paternalism has however not been replaced by ‘management’. Rather, these approaches are blended together with each discourse being more or less present at different times/farms. What happens in practice is that responsibility is sometimes given to the worker but when a mistake is made the farmer simply does it his way without explaining/mentoring the worker about what went wrong and how to do it right the next time (Marco-Thyse, 2012). Ultimately, worker’s rights and freedoms are ‘granted’ to them by the farmer. Management ideas of partnership are nonetheless strongly reflected in the way (Broad-Based) Black Economic Empowerment is structured, especially when it comes to workers becoming promoted or when they receive shares in a (new) enterprise.

Considerable antagonism exists between workers who have been ‘appointed’ into the management apparatus and the ‘normal’ workers. The former may feel over-burdened and socially excluded by his peers and might be regarded as a ‘piemper’ or a ‘favorite’ (du Toit, 1993). This is in no way a break with the past where workers took care not to get ‘too close’ with the farmer at the risk of being excluded by their peers. This attitude is fundamentally divisive and leads to jealousy and envy among farm workers limiting the support they provide to others.

The (Broad-Based) Black Economic Empowerment Act has been passed into law in 2003 and provides a (legal) framework for the social and economic transformation of South African society (see also §4.3.1). As such it effectively constitutes a new government attempt to exert control over labour relations. However, when looking at how the B-BBEE regulations for the wine sector were created it becomes clear that it has been strongly shaped by the people who already had a large stake in the industry – the farmers. Farmers continue to set their own terms and conditions concerning labour

³⁶ Despite this comment being made as a joke on a very progressive farm, it shows that paternalist ideas continue to be persist.

relations. State interference is limited at best because many farms are too small to be required to comply with all B-BBEE legislation and enforcement of regulation is lacking.

4.2.4 Continuities in labour relations

With the ending of Apartheid came the lifting of a 30-year old international boycott. This meant a huge stimulus for the wine industry (SAWC, 2007, p. 11). This stimulus also called for higher quality wines, in its turn demanding higher skilled workers. One perspective on this development is that nowadays permanent workers benefit from these development because farmers invest in them through training and better conditions.³⁷ Casual/contract labourers however can only compete through their (wage) demands resulting in a 'race to the bottom' whereby they are increasingly marginalized. The benefits that permanent workers might receive must thus be contrasted to the worsening of conditions for non-permanent workers (Kritzinger, Barrientos, & Rossouw, 2004). Today, the large swaths of unemployed from the townships, other provinces, and migrant workers are used as a labour reserve which farmers can tap at will. Meanwhile, workers continue to depend on the farmer for things like food, transport, etc. while the farmer needs their (cheap) labour power. As such, it is a relation of mutual dependence but with highly unequal power relations, giving the farmer (or labour broker) room for exploitation (Marco-Thyse, 2012; Mohamed & Roberts, 2006, p. 23). At the same time, farmers have, by transforming, managed to largely retain their control over the governance of farm relations. Paternalist relations have governed the agricultural life in the Western Cape for centuries and constitute a fundamental part of the relations between farmers and labourers (du Toit, 1993; du Toit et al., 2008; Ewert & du Toit, 2005). Thus, while changes have taken place (and continue to), fundamental change is unlikely. Despite attempts by the government, farmers have managed to continue to largely decide upon the rules of the game. Workers continue to be very immobile and their dependency on the farmer remains because they eventually decide who gets employed or not, at what level and who will be empowered and who will not.³⁸

As such, I support the position taken by (Ewert & du Toit, 2005, p. 331) stating that

"it is likely that most of the 4,500 or so wine farms in the industry will remain in white hands - and conservative white hands at that - for some time to come. With weak leadership and without much in the way of either 'carrots' or 'sticks', it is unlikely that either the 'wine

³⁷ Farmers are however also wary to invest *too* much in a worker because they might leave once they acquired new skills. As such, decisions are influenced by general concerns over free riders.

³⁸ Focus group discussions and interviews held during my fieldwork reinforce the idea that workers are highly immobile. More on this in chapter 5.

industry plan' or the BEE charter will produce much in the way of concrete results for poor people living in the wine farming areas."

4.3 The empowerment context

The previous section has illustrated that – at large – control over the wine industry up until today remains in the hands of farmers. It would however be a mischaracterization to perceive the sector as a static one. Even before the ending of Apartheid, initiatives that can be considered to be empowering for workers, such as the Rural Foundation, could be found in South Africa. After the ending of Apartheid even more changes occurred. These might have not fundamentally changed the farm worker – farmer relation but they undeniably influence the empowerment of farm workers. This section discusses briefly some of the developments which directly affect the empowerment of workers.

4.3.1 Past and current empowerment initiatives

The Rural Foundation³⁹

The first large-scale initiative aimed at empowering farm workers was the Rural Foundation (RF) which was set up at the end of the 1960s/early 1970s by students at Stellenbosch University concerned about inequality (Ewert & Hamman, 1999). At its height the RF was active at ~3000 farms.⁴⁰ The RF's primary concern was to raise awareness and to offer services to farm workers. Their main early findings were that farm workers were highly immobile, lacked recreational activities and lived in an environment where (alcohol) abuse was rife. Many of the social ills were rooted in alcohol abuse which could partly be attributed to a lack of alternative recreation. As workers were highly immobile recreation had to come to them. The aforementioned tot system which provided farm workers with daily rations of wine, either as a way of in-kind payment or to tie them to the farm, also contributed to the alcoholism on farms. Despite the tot system being legally banned in 1962, this did by no means stop it from existing (Williams, 2005, p. 481). Another reason mentioned why workers resorted to alcohol was their low self-esteem. The RF tried to reduce alcoholism on farms while simultaneously promoting sports as an alternative to drinking. Alcoholism also resulted in unproductive workers. Sobriety was therefore beneficial to both farm workers and farmers. For the

³⁹ Some authors argue that the Rural Foundation never challenged the paternalistic and racial nature of labour relations on farms (du Toit et al., 2008). This is however a debate beyond the scope of this thesis and the Rural Foundation is used here solely to illustrate that initiatives concerning empowerment have a history predating the ending of Apartheid.

⁴⁰ The national network was terminated in 1996 by the South African government.

first it meant more (economic) options became available since they became more reliable and productive. In addition, more funds were available to spend on their family and other things. Farmers at the same time welcomed the more productive workers.

One of the many other issues the RF focused on was the creation of pre-school programs for children of farm workers which included daily meals. This led to an increased number of children completing school. Up to today however low self-esteem, (alcohol) abuse and educational deficits continue to persist among farm workers. A fundamental critique about the RF is that it never challenged the power relations between farmer and worker; this however is a discussion beyond the scope of this thesis (du Toit et al., 2008; Ewert & du Toit, 2005). Nonetheless, due to the wide reach of the RF it can rightfully be considered to be the first major empowerment initiative.

Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment

Once the majority government ascended to power several empowerment (or at least redistributive) related initiatives were created such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth Employment and Redistribution program (GEAR), and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) (Ponte et al., 2007). The new government also extended labour laws to the agricultural sector to protect workers. This gave them additional rights against e.g. eviction (SAWC, 2007, p. 12). The best known government initiative however is the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) Act of 2003 which is designed to measure the progress made by various industries with regard to the empowerment of previously disadvantaged individuals. The wine industry, lacking a specific official charter, falls under the AgriBEE charter. This charter set very ambitious targets concerning land ownership, business ownership, education and occupational representation (Williams, 2005, pp. 480-481), which we know now will not be reached. The overly ambitious targets created expectations that are not being met, leading to frustration among all involved parties. Especially given South Africa's history, the expectations among large parts of the population were tremendous. There have been attempts to create a specific charter for the wine sector but these have not yet led to official acceptance and adoption.⁴¹ As such, policy uncertainty remains. In addition to policy uncertainty the limited enforceability and applicability to the wine industry poses constraints on the effective empowerment of workers. Few farms have a turnover of 5million+ rand, the threshold for when companies should, at least partially, comply with their respective BEE charter. About 80% of the wine farms will be exempted if the compliance criteria are not adjusted (SAWC, 2007, p. 5). As a result,

⁴¹ The South African Wine Industry Trust in 2003 convened a conference on BEE within the Wine industry with the purpose of creating a specific "*Wine Industry Black Economic Charter by the end of 2005.*" (SAWIT, 2009a, p. 6)

current initiatives are mainly private initiatives. Being a private initiative however does not mean they cannot receive government support nor that there are no government or industry supported programs geared towards the empowerment of farm workers.

Other initiatives

The most notable partnership between the industry and government in this regard is the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT). It was established in 1998 *“for the purposes of stimulating and driving transformation within the wine industry”* (SAWIT, 2009b, p. 5). Its initial funding was provided by the Co-operative Winemakers' Society of South Africa (KWV) and the Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs appointed 14 of the 26 directors to the two non-profit companies (BUSCO and DEVCO) which made up the trust (Williams, 2005).⁴² SAWIT, among other things, supports empowerment initiatives either by funding other organizations or projects directly.

The South African Wine and Brandy Corporation (SAWB), established in 2002, was to represent the entire industry and therefore included representatives from *“processors, merchants, growers and labour”* (Williams, 2005, p. 484). The SAWB developed the Wine Industry Plan (WIP) and was responsible for its implementation. The WIP had six components of which economic empowerment was the first. Nonetheless, some argue that farm workers have not sufficiently been heard in this plan (Ibid., p. 491). In part this can be attributed to different understandings over what *empowerment* constitutes in the case of workers on South African wine farms. Where some authors such as Williams (2005) argue that *“The quickest route to empowerment [of farm workers], and the one which is most immediately rewarding, is to transfer a share in the ownership of companies to a few members of ‘historically disadvantaged communities’”*. Ownership, while potentially yielding (financial) rewards, however does not directly lead to independence from the farmer, especially not when shares of the farm are diluted over a large group of farm workers. Other people such as Nosey Pieterse (cited in Williams, 2005, p. 489) focus on farm worker independence: *“The fundamental characteristic of any empowerment initiative is independence, and we see many of the people currently involved in empowerment projects still wholly dependent on a farmer or owners.”* This independence is still far from reality.

A final initiative worth mentioning is WIETA. WIETA stands for the *“Wine Industry Ethical Trade Association”* and was established in 2002. This association aims to (among other things) improve worker conditions and well-being. Its members commit themselves to compliance with the WIETA code of conduct and are audited prior to being certified as WIETA-compliant. The code of conduct

⁴² The KWV stands for *“Koöperatiewe Wynbouersvereniging van Suid Afrika”* and had for a long time monopolized the industry but purchasing/selling all wine produced by its members for set prices.

foresees in many elements that can be considered to be empowering such as freedom to unionize and payment of a *living wage* rather than the *minimum wage*.⁴³ Many of the provisions in the code of conduct however hardly stretch beyond what is required by law. While some farmers and other actors in the industry seem to welcome initiatives such as WIETA, voices resenting it are also audible and its impact on transformation is sometimes disputed (du Toit, 2002; du Toit et al., 2008; McEwan & Bek, 2009). WIETA compliance continues to be a voluntary. In 2013 there are 152 accredited members (farms) registered.⁴⁴ Despite this being a considerable number it only represents a small fraction of all (wine) farms in South Africa.

Without being exhaustive this section illustrated that there is a history of empowerment initiatives, initiated by both private (industry) actors and the government. Each initiative warrants its own studies.⁴⁵ Despite these efforts the situation of farm workers remains dire. The narrow focus or voluntary nature of initiatives leaves many farm workers to wonder how they will benefit from empowerment.

4.3.2 Labour unrest in the Western Cape agricultural sector

Notwithstanding all initiatives and the progress being made in order to transform the industry, substantial problems remain. Salaries are (too) low, considerable job insecurity persists and there is general discontent among parts of the South African population regarding (the lack of) transformation. These problems exist among all categories of farm workers but are even more applicable to the casual and temporary workers who benefit least from initiatives and are more susceptible to exploitation. These frustrations had been building up for a while and in November 2012 the bubble burst (Boshoff, 2012; Vink, 2012) resulting in large scale strikes which at times turned violent. The unrest started on the fruit farms in “De Doorns” and focused on increasing the minimum wage from R69.40 per day to R150 per day.⁴⁶ The protests eventually ended when a new sectoral determination set higher minimum wages at R105.00 per day, R524.70 per week and R2273.52 per month taking effect on the 1st of March 2013 (Republic of South Africa, 2013). The majority of workers that took to the streets were non-permanent employees who have little, if any, job security, worse employment conditions and little to lose by disrupting the production processes. Wine farms, where working conditions are general a better than on fruit farms, weathered the storm

⁴³ http://wieta.org.za/www34.cpt3.host-h.net/download/WIETA_Code_in_English.pdf retrieved on 19/06/2013

⁴⁴ http://wieta.org.za/www34.cpt3.host-h.net/download/WIETA_MEMBERS_2013.pdf retrieved on 19/06/2013

⁴⁵ A much more extensive history of empowerment in the wine industry can be found in (du Toit et al., 2008, pp. 10-23)

⁴⁶ Based on a 45h workweek.

better than fruit farms and the harvest was not affected (Vink, 2012). Nonetheless, wine farms were also affected by the unrest; the uncertainty that gripped the agricultural sector was not limited to fruit farms. Whereas there is considerable discussion concerning the reason(s) behind the strikes and the question about its main drivers/instigators, this thesis is only concerned with the consequences of the unrest and subsequent wage increase for the empowerment of farm workers.

Consequences for empowerment

Interviews I held in November and December 2012 suggest that aggregate employment will decrease and that a smaller core of workers will become more empowered (through skills development) to maintain or increase production output. This prediction is in line with existing trends in South African agriculture (Stanwix, 2013) which suggest that higher minimum wages lead to less employment. Given the nature of the South African wine industry as one based on cheap, unskilled, labour (see §4.1) it is unsurprising that farmers reward loyal and good workers by empowering them (thereby also giving the worker something to lose if s/he decides to act against the farmer's wishes). At the same time, seasonal changes in labour demand will have to be accounted for. This can take several directions, none of them leading to more 'large-scale' empowerment. The consequence can be, as said, that the permanent, more empowered, workers will be supplemented by more temporary/casual workers and an increase in mechanization.⁴⁷ These non-permanent workers however will miss the empowerment boat because farmers – those paying for empowerment – have no vested interest in them. As such, the strikes might yield short-term benefits by increasing the minimum wage by 50%. In the long term however, it is likely to lead to more unemployment and a more precarious situation for non-permanent workers. Other strategies to cope with disruption such as strikes might also surface as a result but it is too soon to make statements about what other strategies will be adopted.

Consequences for labour relations

In addition to the direct labour-related implications of the unrest, the strikes, and the subsequent handling of them by the government and the discussion between stakeholders, has further deteriorated relations that were already fragile to begin with. Trade unions and the government gave their support to workers by endorsing their (non-violent) protests/strikes. This is remarkable as only a few months earlier they signed the sectoral determination setting the previous minimum wage.

⁴⁷ According to VinPro, the organization representing producers in the South African wine industry expenditures on mechanization have remained virtually static over the past few years. Future studies will be needed to establish whether or not the unrest has actually led to increased (spending on) mechanization.

The discussion surrounding the motivation behind the strikes, whether legitimate or not, also increased distrust among stakeholders. All this uncertainty is detrimental to the position of farm workers because all parties are reluctant to invest in uncertain times, while the unclear policy environment is already considered to be an obstacle to empowerment (see chapter 6).

The labour unrest also directly affected the fieldwork for this thesis. In one case, a farmer had agreed to my survey being administered on the farm, but refused this later, citing the unrest as the reason. The survey might be fuel to the fire and workers allegedly already asked whether I was from the government or a trade union. At a second farm, a large group of female workers waited until the farmer had left and then refused to complete the survey. According to the supervisor this was because they were afraid of the consequences completing it might have for them in light of the recent strikes.

4.4 Summarizing the context

This chapter sketches the context for the subsequent chapters. By briefly discussing the way in which relations between farm workers and farmers evolved since the establishment of the wine industry, current relations can be understood better. At the same time it is illustrated that farmer-government relations have always been characterized by attempts of farmers to minimize government influence of *'their domain'*. This has been quite successful and the paternalist relations which emerged in the course of history still determine farm worker – farmer relations today (du Toit et al., 2008). Regulations that were introduced have altered and limited the power of the farmer, but not to the extent that workers are more independent from the farmer.

Furthermore, we have seen that already prior to South Africa's transition to a majority government, initiatives took place to empower farm workers. This was in part a recognition of the need to treat workers in a more humane way, but it was also driven by industry interests. More empowered workers are more productive and give the industry a more positive image. These initiatives, irrespective of whether they are initiated by private actors, the industry or the government, have failed to empower large numbers of farm workers; the majority still lives in dire straits.

All problems eventually came to a climax at the end of 2012 when large scale labour unrest broke out in the Western Cape. Protestors demanded a wage increase for farm workers to R150 per day. While this objective has not been met, the outburst can lead to a further marginalization of workers on the bottom of the empowerment chain, the non-permanent workers. It also further complicated the relations between various stakeholders in the wine industry.

This is problematic because in the end, the wine industry is extremely important, especially in the Western Cape. It provides for the employment of hundreds of thousands of people who deserve 'good treatment'. The first step in determining what 'good treatment' involves is to assess the workers' views towards empowerment and their priorities. The following chapter will address these issues.

"Why should I go home tired if they pay me little?" - Anonymous farm worker

Chapter 5 – Farm worker views towards empowerment

This chapter discusses empowerment from the farm worker's perspective. It seeks answers to the first sub-question of this research: *"What are the views of farm workers towards their own empowerment"*. Farm workers are often treated as a homogenous community. However, the surveys, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews illustrate the variety of priorities and perceptions within the farm worker community. After an initial overview of the collected data (§5.1) this chapter proceeds by examining what workers themselves mean by empowerment (§5.2). Section 5.3 then elaborates on what workers themselves describe as their priorities. This descriptive section is followed by an analysis of differences among the respondents (§5.4). Section 5.5 and 5.6 delve into the perceptions of workers towards a variety of statements concerning empowerment and differences herein. Lastly, §5.7 will summarize the findings and relate them to the broader theoretical framework. The focus will be on which types of needs (Maslow, 1943; Alderfer, 1969) farm workers have, how they view their future (in farming) (Gottfredson, 1981) and how workers can *feel* more empowered (Paul et al., 2000).

5.1 Population overview

In this section the 'General questions' will be discussed from the self-administered survey (appendix 2) among farm workers on five out of seven participating farms.⁴⁸ This provides general information on the researched population. Furthermore it provides the lines for analyzing the differences among farm workers.

5.1.1 General data

A total of 114 surveys have been returned, with varying degrees of completion (23 have been fully completed), spread over five different farms. There is a gender balance among the respondents (45,8% male; 54,2% female, n=107). When percentages are reported these are the valid percentages.⁴⁹ The average age was 37,8 years and on average respondents worked on the farm for 10,8 years. Among them, the most common employment status was permanent (80,4%) followed by

⁴⁸ On the other two farms no surveys have been administered.

⁴⁹ Valid percentages are the percentage based on the total number of respondents who completed that specific question.

temporary (15,7%) and casual employment (3,9%) (n=102).⁵⁰ The average time respondents spent in school is 7,23 years⁵¹.

The marital status is as follows: single (49%), married (42,9%), engaged (5,1%) and divorced (2,0%) (n=97).⁵² Respondents have 3,3 children on average with five respondents (4,6%) having no children. From the respondents 23,4% (n=25) described themselves as African while 76,6% (n=82) identified themselves as coloured people.

By far the largest reported function was 'general work' (42,1%) followed by cellar-related work (7,9%) and supervisory functions (6,6%) (n=76). 20.4% of the respondents reported having experience empowerment while 79,6% did not (n=98).⁵³ Of the respondents 36,2% reported that they had been raised as a farm worker while 63.8% said they had not (n=105). 72 respondents (68.6%) said their parents also worked on farms (n=105).⁵⁴ Accommodation wise, 55,2% indicate that they live on the farm (n=105) and 55.6% indicate that they want to live on the farm (n=99).

5.1.2. Data discussion

Farm functions

Aside from the 'general work', 'cellar work' and 'supervisory functions' other reported functions varied from animal caretaker and cleaner to tractor driver. Respondents also reported "*working in the field*" or "*working with grapes*" but it is unclear whether respondents refer to the same job, and have thus not been grouped. The general impression is that by far the biggest group of respondents conducts work that can be classified as unskilled labour. This is not to say that such work does not require skills. Skills such as pruning and canopy control are very important when it comes to the

⁵⁰ Permanent employees likely have differing experiences with empowerment compared to non-permanent workers because they have a guaranteed income and are more likely to be included in empowerment schemes that farmers set up. The surveys have been administered during October and November 2012. These months preceded the harvesting season during which more casual and temporary workers are employed.

⁵¹ The real average education among farm workers is likely to be lower because people with little education might have not responded to this question or exaggerated their education. Secondly, illiterate people have not been included in the survey (because self-administration requires literacy) and illiterates are likely not to have had (much) education.

⁵² The non-response rate (17) can be partly explained by not having included 'widow' as an option

⁵³ A cautionary note must be made here because it has not been possible to independently reaffirm these figures. A worker might not experience receiving a life-skills training as empowerment while from a farmer/government perspective this is empowering. As such, above figures are based on the perception of workers.

⁵⁴ This suggests that even though respondents parents worked on farms, they have not been raised as a farm worker. This discrepancy can occur for several reasons. Perhaps their parents only worked on farms temporarily. A second reason might be the respondent's interpretation of what 'being raised' means.

quality of the harvested grapes and workers who possess these skills are highly appreciated by farmers. These skills are however often learned *on the job* and can be classified as the lowest category of farm work.

Living on the farm

The questions concerning housing status and living preferences deserve attention. 55,2% indicate that they live on the farm and 55.6% indicate that they want to live on the farm. Table 2 however illustrates that most people are content with their current living situation.

Table 4: Cross tabulation - living preferences

		Do you want to live on the farm?		Total
		Yes	No	
Do you live on the farm?	Yes	49	6	55
	No	3	38	41
Total		52	44	96

This is particularly relevant because farmers (see chapter 6) report differently on whether workers (do not) want to live on the farm. Providing off-farm housing is often considered to be empowering because it decreases the influence of the farmer over the daily lives of workers. On the other hand, there are also good reasons why people want to live at the farm. At the farm workers' live in a close-knit community familiar to them, they know everyone. Moving off the farm brings uncertainty: where to move to? It will be a new environment, unknown and unfamiliar. This new environment can be very rough if one has grown accustomed to the farm environment (Kritzinger et al., 2004). They will have to go to a place where they have no connections (du Toit, 1993, p. 321; Marco-Thyse, 2012). As such, the farm is a socially (and physically) secure environment despite and because of the farmer's influence.

It is also likely that the respondents to the survey are more positive about living on the farm than farm workers in general. This is because the participating farms are relatively well-off and provided housing that looked considerably better than the farm worker housing in the region and the country as a whole (BAWSI, 2011).⁵⁵ Nonetheless it can be said that farm workers who have grown

⁵⁵ See chapter two on the characteristics of farms contributing to this thesis.

accustomed to the farm environment, want to stay living there. Those familiar with living in settlements outside the farm are less fearful of living outside the farm. They are likely to appreciate the freedom and mobility that comes with and prefer off-farm living over living on the farm. When asked whether or not living off the farm would empower them, workers on average responded quite neutral (statement 26, chapter 5.5). However, when decreasing dependency of the farmer is also understood as a crucial component for farm worker empowerment, moving off the farm is considered to be empowering. Still some farm workers have a preference to live on the farm.

5.2 Conceptualizing empowerment

This section approaches the meaning of empowerment from a worker's perspective. Usually, empowerment is defined through a top-down process leading to disillusionment when people's priorities and conception are not aligned with that of policy makers. It is therefore imperative to have a better understanding of how empowerment is viewed by the intended beneficiaries. By doing so a 'grassroots' conceptualization is presented. The differences between views of workers and farmers is discussed in chapter 7.

5.2.1 Survey responses

The survey question "*What does empowerment mean to you?*" (n=50) led to very varied responses and the following is an interpretation of these.⁵⁶ Four responses were along the lines of "*I do not know [what empowerment means]*" and are excluded from the following analysis. Nonetheless, the 46 valid responses provide a good insight into the meaning of this term for farm workers. Responses are grouped together, the cited ones are considered to be illustrative for that category.

Table 5: Categories of meanings of empowerment according to farm workers

	Job related	Rights related	Ownership related	Future related	Miscellaneous
Responses	10	3	11	10	12

Job related responses

⁵⁶ The non-response rate, 56,1%, can be explained in multiple ways. First of all, this was considered to be a difficult question and respondents had difficulty formulating an answer which might have led them to skip over it. Secondly: this was a open question where workers had to write their own response rather than select it from a list presented to them. Problems with literacy therefore, especially among lower educated respondents might have led to them not completing this question.

Four responses literally read *“Better jobs”* while the others related to promotion opportunities and improved employment conditions. Empowerment for many respondents is therefore job related and as such something which *directly* impacts their lives.

Rights related

“To enjoy equal rights in the workplace” was mentioned by three women from two different farms. The fact that they understand empowerment through a rights based approach can mean several things. It might mean that they experienced situations in which they felt/were treated as being unequal. None of the respondents however elaborated on what was unequal. The anonymous nature of the survey made it impossible to request an elaboration.

Ownership related

Many responses related empowerment to ownership of projects/shareholding. In two cases respondents explicitly mentioned the support of the state: *“It is when the state helps people to start their own business.”* Other responses were along the lines of *“To be a part of/shareholder in a company such as a winery.”* It is interesting to see that a large part of the respondents consider ownership to be of such importance. There are myriad problems with farm workers becoming business owners such as a lack of business knowledge (see also chapter 6). Nonetheless, the sense of ownership seems to be very relevant, be it ownership of a farm/winery or something outside the farm.

Future related

Future related responses have a wider range than the previous categories. These include definitions like *“It means the future of my children”* and *“to, in the future, be financially secure”* to *“to me it means that at the end of the day I have a better self-image thereby having sufficient self-confidence to do my work better and to be an inspiration for my family.”* The common denominator among these ten responses is that they take a long(er) time to become visible, and relate less to material benefits, compared to the previous categories

Miscellaneous

These responses varied in nature and ranged from *“to learn things that are not part of your work”* to *“working together as a group”*. The meaning of these two examples is relatively clear, but some

others are more difficult to interpret. For example, the response *“it [empowerment] means a lot to me”* leaves one wondering what the respondent meant.

5.2.2 Personal responses

Throughout interviews and focus group discussions different meanings of empowerment emerged. They could be classified along material and/or immaterial benefits. Their understanding of empowerment seem to coincide with priorities farm workers have. In one of the focus group discussions the main priorities identified were becoming a house owner, a shareholder and having opportunities to send one's children to school during (Sparkle male FGD, 2012). This, together with increased salary, technical skills, job security and food are mentioned as the main priorities for farm workers (Pieterse, 2012; Pompeblad Worker Interviews, 2012). In a way, all these responses reflect material benefits. At the same time workers also adopt an immaterial perspective. One worker mentioned that empowerment is about learning new skills and the ability to put something (a title/qualification) behind your name (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012). In another focus group discussion three separate meanings are given (Sparkle female FGD, 2012). Firstly, one woman explained that empowerment means to take control over a task assigned to you; to her this meant getting responsibility and showing that you are capable of handling it. Interestingly, the farmer at Skipkyk provided a similar perspective by saying that (to him) empowerment is a combination of improving worker conditions *and* their responsibilities (Skipkyk, 2012). The second meaning given to empowerment is strongly related to increasing responsibilities. Empowerment, to another woman, meant that one has the ability to make their own decisions. Adding to this, a third woman mentioned that, at the end of the day, one must be able to look back and feel proud of what one has done.

The ability to be proud is enhanced when people are given the confidence and responsibility to make their own decisions about what to do. The final component to make one feel empowered is to receive recognition from others that the job was well done (Pompeblad Worker Interviews, 2012). These responses illustrate the importance of immaterial aspects in feeling empowered supporting the focus Paul et al. (2000) put on increasing worker responsibilities as being instrumental to empowerment.

5.2.3 Summary

Concluding we can say that the heterogeneity within the farm worker community is reflected in the way they perceive empowerment. Both material (salary, housing, etc) and immaterial (appreciation, responsibility) benefits are part of the concept of empowerment. Empowerment is perceived to

include both long-term and short-term elements. The following sections will see how this heterogeneity is reflected in farm workers priorities and perceptions.

5.3 Priorities of empowerment

The third section of the survey (see appendix 2) addressed the priorities (needs) farm workers have. Respondents were asked to write down their priorities (open ended) and to select their priorities from an item list.

Open ended

The responses to the question *“Please write down your personal top 3 priorities in regard to empowerment”* have been extremely varied. Priorities ranged from material things such as a *voorskoot* (work clothing) and boots through community related responses (*“workers should not drink at work”, “to make decisions together with the board”*) and educational responses (*“good education for my children”, “I want to know about my rights”*) to financial benefits (*“money is very little and it needs to be increased”, “to have promotion opportunities”*). Many responses are also related to loyalty and appreciation. Throughout casual conversations with workers, farmers and industry experts, loyalty has been established as a central theme in farm life. This can be understood in the context of the farm environment being a secure, family environment where people living there have very strong relations with each other (Marco-Thyse, 2012).

The other recurring theme in the responses is the desire to receive appreciation for the work one does and the person s/he is. Appreciation also scores medium importance in the priority list below. Interestingly, priorities seem to include both material/financial priorities and immaterial/feeling related priorities like knowing one’s rights and being appreciated.

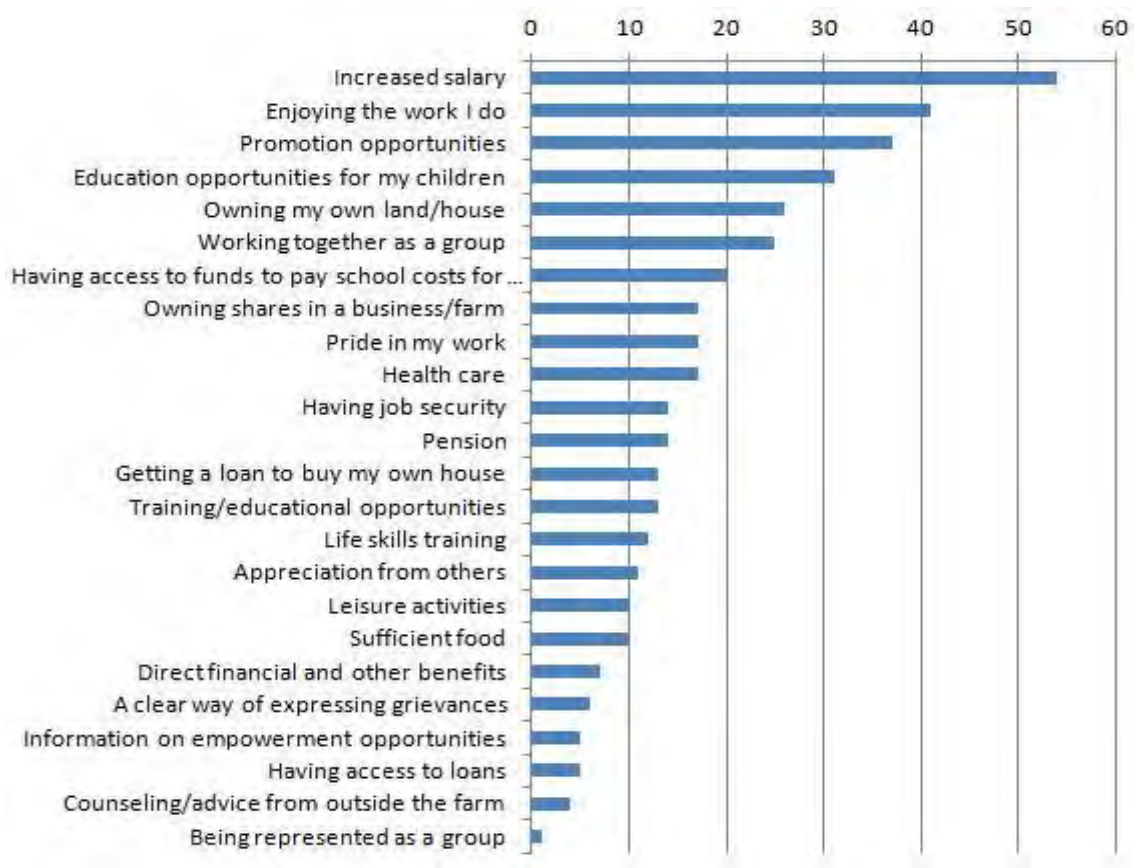
Priority list⁵⁷

All workers were asked to select the five items with the highest priority to them from a list of 24 items. Not every respondent completed this question nor did the people who did always fill in five responses (total number of valid responses: 410 from 84 respondents). Figure 1 lists the 24 items

⁵⁷ A cautionary note when interpreting the results from the latter must be made. The question *“Please circle the 5 items which are the most important to you”* did not explicitly say that these items should relate to their empowerment priorities, as such, results to the same question concerning empowerment might be slightly different. However, given that the rest of the survey and the (oral) instructions for the survey were focusing on empowerment it is likely that most respondents understood this.

which respondents could choose from, ranked according to how often they have been selected as a priority. These 24 items are based on the eight components discussed in chapter 2.5, producing three items for each category.⁵⁸ The five items prioritized by most respondents are: Increased salary (54), Enjoying the work I do (41), Promotion opportunities (37), Education opportunities for my children (31) and owning my own land/house (26). Together, these five priorities represent 46,1% of the responses.

Figure 1: Farm worker priority listing



Increased salary

At the time the surveys were conducted the minimum wage for farm workers was determined by the Sectoral Determination 13. For the Farm Worker Sector minimum wages were R7.71 per day, 347.10 per week and 1509.90 per month based on a 45h workweek (Republic of South Africa, 2013).⁵⁹ Workers live from payday to payday perpetuating feelings of insecurity and uncertainty making it

⁵⁸ These eight components are: 1) Business ownership and control; 2) Access to finance; 3) Internal Employment and Human Resource Management; 4) External Employment and Human Resource Management; 5) Social capital/enabling environment; 6) Lobbying power and collective action; 7) Future related aspects; 8) Miscellaneous. The first six components are borrowed from Janssens, Sefoko et al. (2006).

⁵⁹ After large-scale protests erupted on November 22, 2012 a new sectoral determination has taken effect raising the minimum wage to R105.00 per day, R524.70 per week and R2273.52 per month.

difficult to save money and think long-term. With the living wage for a family of 4-5 persons in the Western Cape region being R3809.06 (2010 living wage) one can understand that increased salary is of the utmost importance to farm workers (Lewis 2012, p. 7). Their physiological/existence needs are thus not always met, which means their primary concern lies with satisfying these needs and increased salaries are the most direct way to do so (Maslow, 1943; Alderfer, 1969). Workers at one farm expressed their discontent with the sectoral minimum wage as follows: *“Everyone needs to do their shopping at the same shops for the same prices. The price of groceries for a farm worker is the same as for a lawyer or someone working in industry, then why are there different wages?”* (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012). Even in the case where a couple works fulltime the minimum wage leaves little to no room for non-essential spending.⁶⁰

Enjoying the work I do

Despite the hard living conditions a large share of respondents considers enjoying the work they do as a priority. It shows that any program trying to improve the quality of life of farm workers must also address non-material/non-financial aspects. Moreover, it shows that the needs as laid down by Maslow (1943) and Alderfer (1969) do not have strict boundaries and people pursue greater satisfaction of various needs at the same time. In this case, workers pursue Maslow’s esteem/self-actualization and Alderfer’s relatedness/growth needs. Work enjoyment is crucial because, as one worker put it: *“You work 5 days a week so most of your time is spent on the job”* (Sparkle female FGD, 2012). Work enjoyment consists of many different aspects. One of them is the financial compensation you receive, your salary. Without a fair salary, one worker argues, it is impossible to feel proud about what you did and be happy (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012). Recognition, which makes you feel happy and proud about your work, can also be achieved by the farmer paying compliments to the workers. More so, work enjoyment is improved if people feel in control of their actions and have decision making freedom (Sparkle female FGD, 2012). The focus group responses thus suggest that work enjoyment is strongly correlated with the ‘power’ and ‘rewards’ components identified by Paul et al. (2000) as essential to empowerment (see §3.2.3).

⁶⁰ Some point out that by providing housing, school grants, etc. the living costs of some farm workers are lower than the figure suggested above. However, the point here is not to determine whether or not workers can cope with the minimum wage but rather to illustrate how precarious their financial situation is.

Promotion opportunities

With 37 people indicating that promotion opportunities are a priority for them, it illustrates one of the difficulties of empowering large groups of people. Chapter 4 explained how the wine industry is built around cheap, unskilled labour. Most workers are needed for unskilled jobs such as working in the fields and assisting in the harvest. It is simply impossible for all these people to receive promotions. This means that many people are likely to see their needs for self-actualization (Maslow, 1943) and growth (Alderfer, 1969) remain unsatisfied. First of all, many lack the skills required for higher positions. This can partly be solved through training and education, but as this depends upon the (intellectual) capabilities of the worker it is not a solution for everyone. Secondly, there are not enough functions at higher levels for everyone to be promoted to. Thirdly, the family-owned farm structure limits the promotion of skilled workers into the highest echelons of a farm. As such, ways should be found for workers to feel empowered within their current position. Improving salaries and increasing (the display of) appreciation for workers' efforts offer possibilities for this.

Limited promotion opportunities thus represent a fundamental problem for empowerment in general and for farm worker empowerment in particular. Workers who are qualified for promotion already belong to the elite among the farm worker community and are (more) likely to make progress in their lives on their own. This is reaffirmed through an interview with a civil servant from the Department of Agriculture in the Western Cape who notes that while previously the focus was on empowering large groups, this has been changed. Now, the focus is on selecting people who are able to make the project a success (Boshoff, 2012a). This means empowerment will become (more) narrowly focused, allowing only those who are already relatively empowered to qualify for programs (Erasmus, 2012). Hereby promotion opportunities for the majority of farm workers are limited and future disillusionment seems inevitable.

Education opportunities for my children

The need for education is widely recognized throughout the farm worker community. This is also reflected in the high number of respondents in section 5.2 whose understanding of empowerment was very much future related. Respondents on average had 7,23 years of education themselves, while for many 'good' jobs more education is needed (matriculation is often the minimum that is required which means that one finished high school, equating to 12 years of education). It is therefore understandable that educational opportunities are a big priority to farm workers. While Maslow's needs do not directly offer an explanation for the importance attributed to education, it might be understood by looking at satisfying one's esteem needs. This need is related to one's self-esteem, one's perceived self-worth and the sense of usefulness (Maslow, 1943, p. 382). When a

parent cannot provide education for their children this certainly has a negative impact one's self-worth and arguably makes the parents feel (more) useless and a bad parent. By providing pre- and after-school support and bursaries farm(er)s try to meet this demand and can thereby contribute to the satisfaction of workers' esteem needs. Pre- and afterschool support is important because a farm worker's house is not a suitable study environment. Often, the parents are unable to help their children where necessary and there is rarely a place where a child can retreat and study. As a result children come to classes unprepared and are lagging behind when they enter primary school. This lag will only increase over the years unless a supportive environment is created.

Some workers see education as a parental responsibility and do not consider educational support to be empowering. Another worker opposes this view and does consider educational support to be empowering, because it is difficult to pay all schools costs and provide for their family. When the farm provides educational support a worker can meet the educational demand of the children and feels less pressure of failing as a parent. Educational support therefore gives farm workers a better feeling about themselves and less worries (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012).

A problem is that some youth are unmotivated to go to school because job prospects are. They see little value in (further) education. After all, their matriculated friends are often unemployed so they just want to start earning money as soon as possible (which means moving away from the farm into the urban centers). Therefore, while education is a desired 'empowerment path' by both farm workers and farmers, problems relating to it cannot be solved relatively easily. The educational and employment problems facing farm workers are structural, affect the entire country, and fall outside the farm workers' and farmers' control.

Owning my own land/house

Ownership of land or a house is the fifth highest priority among the respondents to this survey. While 55,6% (52) of respondents want to live on the farm, 44,4% (44) do not. When moving off the farm people want their own house, instead of renting something, especially due to uncertainty about their future income. A second likely reason for people to prioritize owning property is to become less dependent on the farm owner. Thirdly, owning a house means that the worker has something which his/her children can inherit, which is not the case if one just lives on the farm (Sparkle female FGD, 2012). Owning a house can therefore greatly contribute to the satisfaction of one's esteem needs. Ownership of a house, especially as a (poor) farm worker, increases the feeling that one is capable of achieving something. Moreover, ownership is the ultimate proof of personal growth when a person started out with nothing. It therefore also contributes to the satisfaction of Alderder's (1969) growth needs. At the same time, 58 respondents did not indicate ownership of land or a house to be a

priority. This can be because ownership can also come with considerable insecurity. One must be able to pay the mortgage, one is responsible for its maintenance, etc. When living in a house owned by the farmer or when renting a house this is not the case. In addition, living on the farm (and thus in a house owned by the farmer) means workers can continue to live in a safe, familiar environment. These benefits might be responsible for the large number of respondents not selecting this item as a priority.

Conclusion

In general respondents' priorities have a slight focus towards items that are/lead to material benefits (increased salary, promotion opportunities and owning one's own land/house) which can satisfy their physiological/existence and self-actualization/growth needs. Non-material priorities are however a top priority as well (enjoying the work I do, education opportunities for my children) reflecting workers' desire to satisfy their esteem/self-actualization and relatedness/growth needs as well. Priorities in empowerment thus show a broad range of priorities that (should) lead to both direct personal and indirect (and impersonal) benefits. Those priorities are both material and immaterial. This priority listing illustrates that farm workers' *"struggles are diverse. Farm workers demand many different things, differently, for different reasons"* (du Toit, 1994, p. 383).

A consequence of the diversity of priorities among farm workers is that farmers must choose. Either one priority is singled out where significant improvements can be made in satisfying this priority, or the farmer can do a bit of everything but to a limited extent (assuming finite resources). This means that farm workers will continue to face disappointment because progress in one area is overshadowed by a lack of progress in other areas. The needs and expectations will thus not be fully met, leading to disillusionment with empowerment in general. The extent of this disillusionment will vary from person to person but given the limited scope for empowerment many people will be disappointed in one way or another. Interviewed workers who participated in empowerment projects which 'failed' (see chapter 6.3) expressed they now just want to focus on their current job instead of dreaming about big(ger) things/improvements. Farmers will also become disappointed when projects fail and they will develop a negative attitude towards empowerment due to the limited appreciation they receive for their accomplishments.

5.4 Differing priorities within the farm worker community

As noted before, the farm worker community is not homogenous and distinctions can be made on more levels than on just the individual one. This section illustrates the priority differences along the following lines: 1) Employment status (temporary/permanent)⁶¹, 2) Gender, 3) Race (African/Coloured), 4) Age group, 5) Education, 6) Experience with empowerment, 7) Farm. These (possible) distinctions have been identified through interviews and conversations and are cross tabulated with the responses given to the priority listing discussed above. Due to the limited size of the sample possible other lines of distinction are not discussed.

5.4.1 Employment status

The main division in employment status is between temporary and permanent status

Table 6: Cross tabulation - Employment status * group priorities

	Temporary (n=13)	Permanent (n=63)
Priority 1	Increased salary (9; 69,2%)	Increased salary (39, 61,9%)
Priority 2	Owning my own land/house (6; 46,2%)	Enjoying the work I do (31, 49,2%)
Priority 3	Promotion opportunities (5; 38,5%)	Promotion opportunities (28, 44,4%)
Priority 4	Enjoying the work I do (5; 38,5%)	Education opportunities for my children (25, 39,7%)
Priority 5	Working together as a group (5; 38,5%)	Working together as a group (18, 28,6%)
	Education opportunities for my children (5; 38,5%)	Owning my own land/house (18, 28,6%)

All the top 5 priorities discussed in the previous section are present in both groups with increased salary being the top priority. The biggest difference can be found when it comes to owning one's own land/house and enjoying the work one does.

For temporary the second highest priority is owning their own land/house. The explanation might be found in the living situation of workers. From the respondents 75% (n=12) of the temporary workers live on the farm; this is likely to be a tenant agreement. From the permanent employees a smaller

⁶¹ None of the four casual workers completed this question according to the instructions and have therefore been left out here.

portion (57,1%) (n=44) lives on the farm; they might more often own their own land/house, making this a lower priority for the group as a whole.

The difference between permanent and temporary workers concerning enjoying the work one does, might be explained as follows. People with a permanent position know what they can expect from their work and as such feel more comfortable, allowing them to appreciate the nice things. Temporary workers, while finding it important that their work is enjoyable, are more concerned with issues directly affecting them (salary, ownership and promotion opportunities) than the quality of their job. Their insecure job status and the (material) consequences this has leaves them with less room to be concerned about work enjoyment. Casual workers, despite not being included in this table due to low response numbers, are likely to also have very direct needs because very little is invested in their empowerment (Ewert & du Toit, 2005, p. 327). This is in line with Maslow (1943) who posits that as long as physiological and safety needs are not satisfied one has less room to pursue higher needs. In this case, these higher needs are love and esteem needs, the 3rd and 4th need according to Maslow. In short, permanent workers compared to temporary workers see more of their basic needs (physiological, security or existence needs) being fulfilled and to a greater extent. As a result permanent workers are more able to seek satisfaction of higher needs among which work enjoyment can be shared.

5.4.2 Gender

Table 7: Cross tabulation - Gender * group priorities

	Male (n=39)	Female (n=40)
Priority 1	Increased salary (23; 59,0%)	Increased salary (29, 72,5%)
Priority 2	Enjoying the work I do (23; 59,0%)	Education opportunities for my children (17, 42,5%)
Priority 3	Promotion opportunities (19; 48,7%)	Enjoying the work I do (15, 49,2%)
Priority 4	Owning shares in a business/farm (14; 35,9%)	Promotion opportunities (16, 40,0%)
Priority 5	Education opportunities for my children (13; 33,3%)	Working together as a group (13, 32,5%)

This table shows differences between men and women. Increased salary is the shared top priority.⁶² More interesting however is where both groups diverge in their priorities.

Of the male respondents 35,9% selected owning shares in a business/farm as one of their top 5 priorities. For women, this percentage was much lower (7,5%). The reasons for this are not apparent from the data; but according to an employee at the Western Cape Department of Agriculture (Boshoff, 2012a) it is likely that traditional gender roles play a role: women focus on the household and children while men focus on working on the farm. This also helps to understand why women rank educational opportunities for their children as more important than men do. Moreover, this was confirmed during a focus group discussion when a worker stated that women focus more on what to eat at the end of the day, clothes for children, school fees, etc. while men are more materially oriented (Pompeblad Worker Interviews, 2012).

Furthermore, women place considerable emphasis on working together as a group. Men also consider this to be relatively important with 11 (28,2%) respondents selecting this as one of their five priorities. The difference between men and women in this respect is thus negligible. As such, male and female respondents broadly share the same priorities (4 out of 5 priorities are present in both groups), but they differ in the weight attributed to various priorities.

5.4.3 Race

Farm workers are mostly black people or coloured people.

Table 8: Cross tabulation – Race * group priorities

	Black people (n=17)	Coloured people (n=62)
Priority 1	Increased salary (10, 58,8%)	Increased salary (40, 64,5%)
Priority 2	Enjoying the work I do (10, 58,8%)	Promotion opportunities (27, 43,5%)
Priority 3	Promotion opportunities (7, 41,2%)	Enjoying the work I do (30, 48,4%)
Priority 4	Health care (7, 41,2%)	Owning my own land/house (24, 38,7%)
Priority 5	Education opportunities for my children (7, 41,2%)	Education opportunities for my children (23, 37,1%)

⁶² Reasons as to why increased salary is important might differ per group. Some suggest that women want increased salary to support their children/household. Furthermore, evidence from the fruit industry suggests that women earn comparatively less (and/as they are more frequently employed on a non-permanent basis) than men making their need for an increased salary even greater (Barrientos, McClenaghan, & Orton, 2000).

Four out of five priorities are shared among both groups with increased salary being the most prevalent priority. The difference is that black people have health care as one of their five priorities while coloured people have ownership of their own land/house as a priority.

Health care only features as a top 5 priority among black people, with 41,2% selecting this. Among coloured people this figure is much lower (9; 14,5%). Permanent employment usually also comes with health care benefits, but those indicating health care as a priority include permanent workers as well. Furthermore, if employment status would be the determining factor, the coloured non-permanent workers would have likely also indicated health care as a priority; this is not the case. In addition, those who indicated health care as a priority work on different farms and are from both genders. The collected survey data, interviews or the reviewed literature do not provide an explanation for this pattern. Future research will have to be conducted to determine if this is a real difference or if this outcome is just a coincidence.

Whereas 38,7% of the coloured respondents selected "*Owning my own land/house*" as one of their five priorities, only one (5,9%) of the responding black people selected this. Interviews and casual conversations suggest that black people are more often seasonal workers who outside the season(s) do not live in the Western Cape (see chapter 6). As such, obtaining their own land/house in the Western Cape might not be very important to them as they move away after the seasonal labour is completed. The collected data however show that the vast majority of responding black people (16) are permanent workers. Therefore, the data do not directly provide support for this hypothesis. However, they do not disprove it either since the black people who participated in this survey might still be oriented towards areas outside the Western Cape, which would make obtaining housing in the Western Cape less of a priority for them.⁶³

⁶³ Moreover, the hypothesis that ownership of a house (in the Western Cape and thus close to work) is *overall* less important to black people can not be rejected for a second reason. This is because the surveys have been collected during October and November 2012 which is well before most temporary workers, often black people from the Eastern Cape, come in to help during the harvesting season.

5.4.4 Age group

The three age groups for this analysis are 1) people up to 26 years, 2) people between 26-40, and 3) people of 40+. The first category are those generally considered to be youth. People from 40+ are those who have had considerable working experience (although perhaps not on this/a farm). This experience would also be under the Apartheid regime, which might influence their priorities.

Table 9: Cross tabulation - Age group * group priorities

	25 or younger (n=11)	26-40 (n=36)	40+ (n=32)
Priority 1	Increased salary (8; 72,7%)	Increased salary (25; 69,4%)	Increased salary (20; 62,5%)
Priority 2	Education opportunities for my children (5; 45,5%)	Promotion opportunities (23; 63,9%)	Enjoying the work I do (19; 59,4%)
Priority 3	Owning my own land/house (4; 36,4%)	Enjoying the work I do (14; 38,9%)	Education opportunities for my children (12; 37,5%)
Priority 4	Enjoying the work I do (4; 36,4%)	Education opportunities for my children (13; 36,1%)	Promotion opportunities (11; 34,4%)
Priority 5	Working together as a group (4; 36,4%)	Owning shares in a business/farm (12; 33,3%)	Owning my own land/house (10; 31,3%)
	Having access to funds to pay school costs for children (4; 36,4%)		
	Appreciation from others (4; 36,4%)		

In general, we see the same priorities with minor variances and increased salary being the top priority for all respondents. There are however three interesting observations. The first concerns the gender makeup of the *25 or younger* age group. Secondly promotion opportunities deserve some extra attention and lastly work enjoyment is a notable priority.

All respondents under 26 are female and we see that their priorities are very closely matching those of women in general (§5.4.2). The most notable difference is that women under 26 seem to attach considerable importance to owning their own land/house. When including older women this is no longer a top priority. A possible explanation for this is that youth in general, and women are no exception, do not want to live/work on the farm. Therefore, they might find owning their own land/house important as this provides accommodation when leaving the farm. Moreover, owning their own (off-farm) house would ensure their children not growing up on the farm.

Secondly, The 26-40 age group has by far the highest real number and percentage that put promotion opportunities as a priority (in the 25 or younger group 3 people prioritized this, 27,3%). A possible explanation is that this group is the most ambitious *within* the farm. Respondents under 26 might aspire to careers outside the farm therefore not prioritizing a promotion within the farm. This will become clearer in section 5.7 where the question if people would seek off-farm employment will be analyzed via age categories. The 40+ age group on the other hand might have gotten used to their job without being very ambitious anymore. This idea is supported by their focus on the quality of work (enjoying the work I do), which is prioritized considerably more than within the other groups. Furthermore, people aged 40 and above have often worked under these conditions for a considerable length of time, decreasing their eagerness to grow (Alderfer, 1969; Maslow, 1943). In addition, the 26-40 age group might no longer/to a lesser extent pursue off-farm employment, but since they have responsibilities (children, parents that need taken care of, etc.) they want to improve their situation within the farm environment. As such, their occupational aspirations have decreased to the type of work they consider fitting for them: farm labour. Through promotions and increased salary respondents in this age group are able to satisfy their needs without going through the uncertainty of moving off the farm and finding new employment.

Enjoying the work one does follows an interesting trend where the higher the age-group the more work enjoyment is prioritized. This is confirmed by examining the data on perceptions (§5.6) whereby older people are happier with working on the farm compared to younger ones. Older people are also less eager to seek off-farm employment. There is also a trend visible whereby older people more frequently report being more happy on the farm now than five years ago. This is in line with Gottfredson's (1981) theory on occupational aspirations. She notes that people eventually will indicate that they do the work they want, because their perceptions are constantly shaped by the (limitations to) their possibilities. Since young people have in that sense grown less into the 'farm worker mold' they still focus on other things. As they grow older and (think) their options for off-farm employment decrease they start focusing on enjoying the work they do.

5.4.5 Education

The chosen distinction here is between people with 6 or less years of education and those with 7 or more. Not only is this close to the mean education (7,23 years) but it is also complies with distinctions in the South African education system where year 7 and up are considered to be the senior phase of primary school and secondary school.

Table 10: Cross tabulation – Education * group priorities

	Less than 7 years education (n=21)	7 or more years of education (n=40)
Priority 1	Increased salary (14; 66,7%)	Increased salary (23; 57,5%)
Priority 2	Having access to funds to pay school costs for children (10; 47,6%)	Enjoying the work I do (22; 55,0%)
Priority 3	Enjoying the work I do (9; 42,9%)	Education opportunities for my children (18; 45,0%)
Priority 4	Working together as a group (9; 42,9%)	Promotion opportunities (16; 40,0%)
Priority 5	Owning my own land/house (8; 38,1%)	Owning my own land/house (14; 35,0%)

Working together as a group appears to be more important for people with less education (9; 42,9%) than better educated people (6; 15,0%) both in absolute and relative terms. No further considerable differences are found that relate to education levels. Promotion opportunities are the 6th priority for people with less than seven years of education so this is a neglectable difference.

5.4.6 Experience with empowerment

Table 11: Cross tabulation – Empowerment experience * group priorities

	Experience with empowerment (n=16)	No experience with empowerment (n=58)
Priority 1	Owning my own land/house (10; 62,5%)	Increased salary (41; 70,7%)
Priority 2	Increased salary (8; 50,0%)	Enjoying the work I do (33; 56,9%)
Priority 3	Promotion opportunities (7; 43,8%)	Promotion opportunities (27; 46,6%)
Priority 4	Education opportunities for my children (7; 43,8%)	Education opportunities for my children (21; 36,2%)
Priority 5	Working together as a group (4; 25%)	Working together as a group (17; 29,3%)
	Owning shares in a business/farm (4; 25%)	
	Life skills training (4; 25%)	
	Having access to funds to pay school costs for children (4; 25%)	
	Pride in my work (4; 25%)	

The general questions in the survey included a question experience with experience empowerment projects. This self-reporting does not necessarily coincide with who has been exposed to empowerment projects according to the farmer or government criteria.

The most striking outcome is that workers with empowerment experience do not have increased salary as their biggest priority. This might be because they, after having undergone empowering processes, receive a better salary than before. Increased financial freedom might also contribute to this group aspiring to become land/house owners as this becomes (more) within their reach due to their higher salaries.

The second noteworthy difference between both groups is the focus on ownership of one's own land/house. 62,5% of the respondents with empowerment experience indicate this as their priority versus just 22,4% of those without empowerment experience; this is a considerable difference. Those with empowerment experience are also relatively older respondents with a permanent employment status. Therefore, their more basic needs are likely to have already been satisfied to a higher extent, creating new wishes/needs such as owning their own land/house. Those without empowerment experience are generally worse off and thus focus on other items. It is also possible that those who strongly desire their own house or land are more eager to make sure they qualify for the empowerment opportunities available in/around the farm. The causality could however also run

the other way whereby people who are more empowered have more means at their disposal, allowing them to be more interested in pursuing their own land/house.

Another difference lies with enjoying the work one does (18,8% for those with and 56,9% for those without empowerment experience). Those with experience are likely to do jobs they enjoy, so work enjoyment is not something to aspire anymore, while workers without experience are less likely to do the type of work they enjoy and which they aspire. Therefore, the need for enjoyable work is more often satisfied among empowered workers and *“a want that is satisfied is no longer a want”* (Maslow, 1943, p. 375)

5.4.7 Farm level differences

Farms differ in countless ways such as size, labour policies, empowerment projects, the way in which empowerment is discussed both between farm workers themselves and between the farm workers and farmer, the availability of information (on empowerment) to workers, worker treatment, etc. As such it will not be possible to exactly point out why these differences exist. Rather, the fact that there are substantial differences between the priorities on farm level supports the idea that there is no single solution which can always be applied. Local needs must be taken into account.

Table 12: Cross tabulation – Farm * group priorities

	Dieresig (n=23):	Eiehuis: (n=8):	Pompeblad (n=14):	Mooisig (n=35):	Skipkyk (n=4):
Priority 1	Enjoying the work I do (17; 73,9%)	Pension (5; 62,5%)	Increased salary (8; 57,1%)	Increased salary (34; 97,1%)	Owning my own land/house (4; 100%)
Priority 2	Education opportunities for my children (10; 43,5%)	Enjoying the work I do (5; 62,5%)	Promotion opportunities (6; 42,9%)	Promotion opportunities (17; 48,6%)	Education opportunities for my children (3; 75%)
Priority 3	Increased salary (10; 43,5%)	Having access to funds to pay for school costs for children (4; 50,0%)	Owning my own land/house (6; 42,9%)	Enjoying the work I do (15; 42,9%)	Working together as a group (2; 50%)
Priority 4	Promotion opportunities (39,1%)	Promotion opportunities (4; 50,0%)	Pride in my work (7; 50,0%)	Education opportunities for my children (11; 31,4%)	Owning shares in a business/farm (2; 50%)
Priority 5	Getting a loan to buy my own house (8; 34,8%)	Education opportunities for my children (3; 37,5%)	Pension (5; 35,7%)	Owning shares in a business/farm (10; 28,6%)	Life skills training (2; 50%)
				Owning my own land/house (10; 28,6%)	

When decomposing the scores on the priority listing we get to see the most interesting differences. Whereas priorities along all previous distinction lines proved to be broadly similar, differences between farms seem to be far more substantial.

For example, at Eiehuis and Skipkyk employees do not report 'increased salary' as a top 5 priority which, in spite of the number of respondents, indicates that salaries at these farms are considered to be good (enough). On the other hand, Mooisig's employees almost unanimously indicate increased salary as their priority.

Few farms have pension schemes for workers and when they do these are often very small (Marco-Thyse, 2012). It is therefore not surprising that workers in a focus group discussion complained that pensions are only worth something if they are big (enough) which is often not the case, especially for the lower income-earning workers (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012). Pensions on the other hand are only a priority at Eiehuis and Pompeblad. This suggests that the other farms either have a pension plan which the workers consider to be good enough or that other conditions outweigh the concerns over pensions. Workers' age might also be an important determinant here because the average age at Eiehuis (45,0) and Pompeblad (40,37) is higher than the overall average age (37,76). Older workers are concerned about their pensions, especially because they cannot rely on their children to take care of them at an old age (Ewert, 2012b). The other farm with an above-average age is Skipkyk (41,25). Skipkyk however has a) insufficient respondents to draw firm conclusions from and, b) the respondents likely have a higher salary possibly allowing them to arrange pensions themselves.

Enjoying the work one does consistently scores high as a priority. When looking at the farm level however we see that this is not in the top 5 priorities at Pompeblad or Skipkyk. This can either mean that conditions here are such that more basic, material, needs are prioritized. This seems unlikely, especially at Skipkyk where in that case 'increased salary' would be a likely top priority. At Pompeblad this might be somewhat more the case since all priorities except for the fourth, 'pride in my work' are material in nature (be it short- or long-term). It can however also mean that employees on these two farms already enjoy their work (sufficiently) and thus no longer consider this a priority. This last possibility would be in line with the age related conclusions drawn in §5.5.4.

The other notable difference, the absence of 'education opportunities for my children' at Pompeblad is minimal as it is ranked as their sixth priority.

5.4.8 Summarizing remarks

From the above we can conclude that many groups have shared priorities but that their priorities include elements from all categories of needs. Material benefits such as increased salary tend to dominate workers' priorities, closely followed by immaterial priorities such as enjoying the work one does and educational opportunities for one's children. Men seem to have a slight preference for ownership of shares/a farm while women attribute more importance to working together as a group.

Health care seems to be a particular important issue for black people, while ownership of land/a house is of more importance to coloured respondents. Respondents within the 26-40 age group prioritize, more than others, promotion opportunities, leading to the belief that this age group is the most ambitious within the farm environment. Simultaneously a trend is discernible whereby older respondents attach more importance to enjoying their work, which confirms assumptions arising from the literature on aspirations. The level of education only seems to be relevant when looking at how much priority is given to working together, which is a much higher priority for people with less than 7 years of education compared to those with more. Whether or not people have previous experience with empowerment has a considerable impact on their overall priorities. Ownership of land/a house is the top priority for people with previous experience with empowerment while for those without empowerment experience this is not ranked as a top 5 priority. Furthermore, workers with empowerment experience are one of the few groups that do not list increased salary as their biggest priority. The biggest difference in regard to priorities is however found at farm level. Here it is visible that priorities such as salary, pensions or enjoying the work one does differs greatly between farms. This illustrates the importance of the specifics of each individual community in formulating one's priorities. Hard conclusions over work priorities are therefore difficult to draw without looking at the specifics of a farm. Nonetheless, priorities include both material and immaterial items with increased salary often taking the lead.

Priorities and needs

The diversity in the type of priorities respondents have, reflects the different types of needs identified in chapter 3. Most of the times, increased salary is the highest ranked priority. This suggests that physiological/existence needs trump other needs. This is in line with the expectations of Maslow (1943) and Alderfer (1969).

Satisfaction of other needs is however also important to farm workers. Interestingly, security needs have limited presence in the priority listing with the exception of the focus on health care among black people. This in first instance seem to be illogical because *"a person will want the more basic of two needs when deprived in both"* (Maslow, 1943, p. 386). Therefore, one would expect job security, as one of the security needs, to be a prominent priority.⁶⁴ A possible explanation for this finding might be that since all respondents are employed this need is largely satisfied for the time being. Therefore, it can still be important to them, and is highlighted as such when explicitly asked about,

⁶⁴ Safety needs are reflected in "the common preference for a job with tenure and protection, the desire for a savings account, and for insurance of various kinds..." (Maslow, 1943, p. 379).

but their attention is directed towards satisfaction of other needs. The need for love, present in relatedness needs, may be reflected in the desire to work together as a group. The desire to satisfy farm workers' esteem needs may be reflected in the high priority they accord to education opportunities for children, enjoying the work one does and the focus on promotion.

The focus on promotion can also be related to the need for self-actualization and growth. One's self-esteem increases when being considered qualified for a promotion. At the same time, a promotion allows a person to grow. This growth is financial and it also signifies that one has capabilities and that these are valued by others. Moreover, workers who are promoted obtain more information and knowledge about farming for which they are rewarded with an increased salary and more influence making them feel more empowered (Paul et al., 2000).

The importance of one's context becomes visible when looking at differences between farms. The different employment conditions at farms are reflected through the different weight accorded to priorities such as increased salary. However, the different weight attributed to priorities such as working together as a group suggests that in some farms this need is satisfied to a greater extent making people on those farms feel (slightly) more empowered in terms of their esteem/relatedness needs.

5.5 Perceptions

The last section of the survey consisted of a list of 29 questions (see appendix 2) based on the eight aforementioned components with five additional questions. Respondents were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with a given statement (1 = totally disagree, 3 = neutral, 5 = totally agree). Table 13 presents the 29 statements, the number of responses (n), the mean and the standard deviation (SD). The mean is an indicator for how the total population on average thinks about this item. The standard deviation is included to illustrate how much variance there has been in the responses and thus whether or not respondents' perceptions are more or less similar (low SD) or if they differ greatly (high SD). Questions that are either producing interesting outcomes or have a mean of 2.0 and lower or 4.0 and higher will be discussed in more detail. Responses between 2.0 and 4.0 are considered to be too close to neutral to be of interest.

Table 13: Perception listing

Question:	Mean	SD	n
1) I am happy with working on a farm.	3,55	1,48	98
2) If possible I would seek non-farm employment.	3,04	1,54	89
3) I would like my children to work on a farm.	1,64	1,06	94
4) I now feel more empowered compared 5 years ago.	3,09	1,61	86
5) I am happier as a farm worker now than I was 5 years ago.	3,32	1,53	93
6) I believe that the developments that take place on the farm now will also be for my (future) benefit.	3,60	1,43	97
7) It is possible to get a loan from a bank under reasonable conditions.	3,57	1,44	87
8) I have access to other funds than from the bank (e.g. through family, friends etc.).	2,68	1,55	84
9) Getting loans for personal purchases is important to me.	3,55	1,49	88
10) Without increased salary I will not be empowered.	3,52	1,47	83
11) I like the work I do.	3,92	1,39	101
12) It is crucial to me that I have good job security.	4,42	1,42	92
13) I have enough skills to get a equal or better job outside the farm.	3,92	1,39	92
14) The work I do is very important to me.	4,00	1,35	98
15) I find it important that I can make promotion within the company.	4,19	1,18	98
16) I have the skills to do my job well.	4,04	1,29	96
17) Having the opportunity to learn new job skills empowers me.	4,06	1,26	96
18) I am well informed about the empowerment opportunities I have.	3,34	2,28	87
19) My colleagues support me in becoming (more) empowered.	3,07	1,54	92
20) Having access to people outside of the farm for information and support is important to me.	4,06	1,21	93
21) Being represented as a group with other workers is important to me.	4,24	1,08	90
22) I am willing to wait a few years before I see the benefits of empowerment.	3,41	1,53	91
23) Empowerment should improve my day-to-day situation right now.	3,78	1,39	89
24) My children will benefit more from empowerment than I do.	4,02	1,28	92
25) Owning part of a farm or business is essential to me feeling empowered.	3,74	1,41	88
26) Living off the farm will empower me.	3,38	1,30	90
27) Having access to leisure activities (e.g. a sports field) is empowering.	4,07	1,23	96
28) Receiving training in life skills is important to me.	4,30	1,13	96
29) It is important to me that there is a role model on the farm.	4,19	1,14	97

5.5.1 Strong perceptions

All the statements discussed hereunder have a mean of 4 or higher indicating that, on average, respondents agree with them strongly. The statements have been ordered according to how strongly the responding farm workers agreed with them.

Statement 12: It is crucial to me that I have good job security.

Respondents agree strongly with this statement (mean = 4,42; SD = 1,42, the highest mean score among all questions). Most respondents have a permanent contract at the farm where they work (80,4%). This means that for many respondents job security is already in place. Nonetheless, they might still be worried about losing their job and consider fulfillment of this need to be a precondition for other needs. It therefore does not go against the idea that a want which is satisfied is no longer a want. The importance attached to job security is sometimes also a consequence of workers' lack of faith in the government/unions protecting them (Vink, 2012). The consequences of not having job security are very tangible explaining why respondents agree so strongly with this statement.

Statement 28: Receiving training in life skills is important to me.

Life skills training is important to a large proportion of the respondents as indicated by the high mean (4,30) and low accompanying SD (1,13). This strongly relates to the focus farmers and other interviewees place on improving life skills. Life skills training however scored relatively low on the priority listing in section 5.4 suggesting that while respondents find it very important, other issues command higher priority.

Statement 21: Being represented as a group with other workers is important to me.

Workers recognize the importance of group representation through their high agreement with this statement (mean = 4,24) and the low SD (1,08). In section 5.4 however, only one person indicated being represented as a group as his/her priority. Group representation might be a protective measure towards the farmer. Because the farmer holds the power it is risky to speak up on certain issues as an individual. This outcome also suggests that while people consider this to be important, there are other concerns that have a higher priority to them. Another explanation is that while group representation is important to people they do not necessarily relate it to empowerment. When then asked for their priorities, group representation is not considered. However, when one asks and triggers workers to give their opinion on group representation, they indicate how important it is to them. The response here thus suggests that while respondents can consider some things very

important its improvement is not necessarily a priority to them, or at least not a very explicit one like improved salaries. It is unlikely that the low ranking in the priority listing can be attributed to this need already being fulfilled because farm workers are notoriously badly represented, be it in the farm or on a higher level.

Statement 29: It is important to me that there is a role model on the farm.

Also scoring high is the importance of having a role model on the farm (mean = 4,19; SD = 1,14). This is a complicated outcome for two reasons. Firstly, there is the problem with the community not being very supportive when people (want to) become empowered, making it difficult to create role models from within the community (Heuvelsig, 2012; Marco-Thyse, 2012). Secondly, people with a lot of potential are not eager to stay on the farm and rather pursue careers outside farming (see chapter 6) (Dieriesig, 2012).

Statement 15: I find it important that I can make promotion within the company.

The low SD (1,18) and high mean (4,19) suggest strong agreement with the statement. This is in line with the priorities people themselves give through the priority list (section 5.4). The availability of promotion opportunities is considered to be important because it is considered to be a recognition of one's individual achievements (Sparkle female FGD, 2012). However, the same problems with the availability of promotion opportunities remain making this desire something difficult to fulfill.

Statement 27: Having access to leisure activities (e.g. a sports field) is empowering.

Respondents agree with the statement that having access to leisure activities is empowering (mean = 4,07; SD = 1,23). This strongly relates to the importance of having alternative activities to pass time outside working hours. The Rural Foundation was built around this idea and farms participating in this research indicate that alternative recreation helps to prevent youngsters from "*getting up to no good*" (Dieriesig 2012a). In addition, it can make workers proud to represent 'their farm' against other farms (Heuvelsig, 2012b). By representing the farm a worker can reinforce his/her sense of belonging to the farm. This sense of belonging has been an intrinsic element of farm relations and is a consequence of the existing paternalism (du Toit, 1993, p. 320). Due to the low mobility of workers this however means that such activities must be available on/near the farm.

Statement 20: Having access to people outside of the farm for information and support is important to me.

Respondents recognize the importance of off-farm information and agree strongly with the statement (4,06) (SD = 1,21). This is also particularly relevant in terms of discussing empowerment with people from outside the farm because now it is not always clear to workers what opportunities are available to them (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012).

Statement 17: Having the opportunity to learn new job skills empowers me.

Learning new skills empowers people to either carry out their current job better or to carry out other ('better') jobs. As such, the strong agreement respondents have with this statement was expected (mean = 4,06; SD = 1,25).

Statement 16: I have the skills to do my job well.

Respondents seem to be fairly confident about the skills they possess in order to do their job well (mean = 4,04; SD = 1,29).

Statement 24: My children will benefit more from empowerment than I do.

The respondents agree that their children will benefit more from empowerment than they themselves will (mean = 4,02; SD = 1,28). This might be the result of educational programs at the researched farms (pre/after school support, university bursaries) or general hope that the future will be better.

Statement 14: The work I do is very important to me.

With the respondents indicating that they like the work they do, it is not very surprising that they also think the work they do is important to them. This is reflected in the mean agreement respondents have with this statement (4,00) with an average SD (1,35). Furthermore it might be a way to preserve one's self esteem. Many people will continue to do work in agriculture and if one does not think their work is important they might consider themselves to be unimportant as well. If your work is important to you, you appreciate what you do.

5.5.2 Intriguing perceptions

Statement 13: I have enough skills to get an equal or better job outside the farm.

The outcome of this statement (mean =3,92; SD = 1,39) indicates that most respondents believe that they have sufficient skills to get an equal or better job outside of the farm. However, as seen in question eleven, respondents like the work they do. Question two suggests that people are rather neutral when it comes to seeking off-farm employment. So, while respondents believe they possess the skills necessary, they are unlikely to actively seek off-farm employment. Reasons for this can vary but part of the explanation might be found in the 'farm as family' concept which provides a safe and familiar environment to workers (yet one where the farmer has unchallengeable authority) (du Toit, 1993). A second explanation might be found in the limited availability of jobs (and high unemployment) which means that even if they have the required skills, actually getting a different job with high job security might be problematic. The second is especially problematic since the wine industry, and other industries, increasingly employ labour contractors which is in general not conducive and even detrimental to the empowerment of workers (du Toit et al., 2008; Mohamed & Roberts, 2006, p. 23).

Statement 3: I would like my children to work on a farm.

This is the only question to which the mean response (1,64) has been somewhere between totally disagree (1) and disagree (2). The SD of (1,06) is the lowest of all questions and means that close to 70% of the responses lie between totally disagree and neutral. As such, it can be said that very few people want their children to work on the farm. This can in part be attributed to the increasingly low status accorded to agricultural work (White, 2012). Section 5.4.4 already explains why elder people are more satisfied with working on farms without implying that they want the same for children. Parents therefore can simultaneously accept their own situation while wishing better for their children. Agricultural work is rewarded very little in South Africa, both financially and status wise, especially when compared to other professions. In addition farm work is hard and demanding so when the rewards are little, parents want something better for their children (Sparkle female FGD, 2012)

Statement 19: My colleagues support me in becoming (more) empowered.

In a country where so much (rhetorical) attention is aimed at empowerment one would expect people to be supportive of others that want to empower themselves. Surprisingly this is not the case. Chapter 6 will show that farmers indicate workers do not always stimulate/support each other when one can become more empowered. In some cases, colleagues actually negatively affect the opportunities of others. The responses to this statement indicate that this is not something only farmers notice. The mean of 3,07 (SD = 1,54) suggests respondents are neutral towards this statement. When probing for explanations as to why this was the case possible reasons have been suggested. There is the fear within the community that someone who moves up in rank will boss them around while formerly s/he was 'one of them' (Marco-Thyse, 2012). This however works both ways as workers themselves indicate that when one gets promoted their relations with others also change, which is then not always accepted by their peers (Sparkle male FGD, 2012). This leads to workers not wanting to be(come) considered to be the farmer's blue-eyed boy. This can be problematic because it can potentially limit the successful implementation of programs.

5.5.3 Summarizing perceptions

Concluding we can say that, on average, people are happy with working on a farm and like the work they do, but would not like their children to work on the farm. They believe that current developments will improve their lives in the future, but the respondents are not necessarily feeling more empowered than five years ago. They are not eager to wait a few years before benefits of empowerment materialize and would rather see their day-to-day situation improved right now. However, respondents strongly believe that their children will benefit more from empowerment than they do. Respondents are also fairly positive in regard to the skills they possess and believe that they can do their current job well and that they are skilled enough to find off-farm employment. Nonetheless, learning new job-related skills will empower them further.

5.6 Differences in perceptions

Farm workers were asked about their perception of empowerment in the survey with 29 statements. Different priorities appeared and as explained in 5.3 these differences can be categorized along 7 main categories: employment status, gender, race, age group, education, experience with empowerment and farm. Only differences that are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level are reported. For this I used Independent-Samples T Tests. Equality of variances has been checked using Levene's test for equality of variances. Since there are no hypotheses about the direction

towards which the variation between categories is pointing, values results are based on the two-tailed test. Differences between farms are included but the outcomes of these comparisons must be viewed with caution due to limited number of responses from some farms. Moreover, the data collected for this thesis does not allow for extensive explanations on why the farms differ where they do. In order to enhance readability, this section lists the statements which resulted in significant differences followed by a discussion of all differences between the compared categories. Appendix 3 provides tables listing all significant differences and the accompanying statistical test results.

5.6.1 Employment status

When looking at employment status as a determinant for one's perceptions only the difference between temporary and permanent workers has been considered because too few casual workers completed this part of the survey. Seven of the 29 statements led to responses that were significantly different from each other.

Permanent workers, compared to temporary workers, agree more strongly with:

- 1) Being happy with working on the farm (statement 1).
- 2) Feeling more empowered now than they did five years ago (statement 4).
- 3) Being more happy now than they were five years ago (statement 5).

Temporary workers, compared to permanent workers, agree more strongly with:

- 1) Wanting to seek off-farm employment (statement 2).
- 2) Job security being crucial to them (statement 12)
- 3) Having sufficient skills to get an equal or better job outside the farm (statement 13)
- 4) The importance of having access to people from outside the farm for information and advice (statement 20)

Permanent workers tend to have better employment conditions than temporary workers. They have greater job security, a better salary, and sometimes other benefits such as housing and health insurance. As such, it is understandable that permanent workers are more happy than temporary workers. This affects the extent to which people are happy about their work as well as the extent to being happy in general. Moreover, permanent workers are more likely to benefit from arising empowerment opportunities. Farmers who invest in their workers through training, housing provision, educational support for children, etc. focus these efforts on their permanent staff. Temporary workers, bereft of better employment conditions and empowerment prospects perceive the given statements negatively and emphasize the importance of job security. After all, their needs, (security, esteem and self-actualization or growth needs) remain unsatisfied. As a result of the

investment in permanent workers temporary workers' employment situation becomes increasingly precarious (Kritzinger et al., 2004) as they are increasingly marginalized Ewert and du Toit (2005).

Recognizing the difficulties that temporary employment brings, this group of respondents indicate to be more eager to seek off-farm employment, for which they, more so than permanent workers, believe to have the required skills. There can be (a combination of) multiple explanations for this. Temporary workers are younger and have on average worked on farms shorter than permanent workers. They have yet to grow accustomed to farm life and work and thereby might have more confidence in their skills being valuable outside the farm. Permanent workers perception of suitable work however changed over the years resulting in them considering farm work to be suitable to them (Gottfredson, 1981). Finally as one works on the farm longer (and thus more likely to be permanently employed) the skills one develops are more adapted to farm labour. Temporary workers' desire to seek off-farm employment is also reflected in the value they attribute to the ability to interact with people outside the farm. These external advisors could be seen as a way to learn more about the opportunities that lie beyond the farm gate making them very valuable to those temporary workers who aspire off-farm employment.

5.6.2 Gender

Comparing the responses to the given statements between men and women led to two significant differences.

Women, compared to men:

- 1) would sooner look for off-farm employment (statement 2)
- 2) attach more importance to having access to people outside of the farm for information and support (statement 20).

Neither the interviews or focus group discussions nor the reviewed literature provide a direct explanation for these results. Taking the perspective that women in general are more concerned with the future of their children however leads to a few (speculative) interpretations of these results. Mothers might not want their children to grow up on a farm and therefore try to leave this environment faster than men would. Furthermore, the farm is a very restrictive/small and patriarchal environment and women might be uncomfortable with this. Moreover, women's focus on their (children's) future and education makes outside information, in comparison, more valuable to them. This is not to say that men do not care for outside information (and certainly not that they do not care about the future of their children). However, women might see more value than men in not being restricted by and to the farm.

5.6.3 Race

Using race as a way to distinguish between people's responses led to 10 significant differences, more than between any other category. Neither the empirical data nor the literature provide direct and conclusive evidence of why these differences exist. The discussion below thus must be seen as possible suggestions deserving of future research.

Coloured people, more so than black people:

- 1) agree that it is possible to get a loan from a bank under reasonable conditions (statement 7).
- 2) find having good job security crucial (statement 12)
- 3) are confident that they have sufficient skills to find an equal or better job outside the farm (statement 13)
- 4) agree that the work they do is important to them (statement 14).
- 5) find it more important to be able to make promotion within the company (statement 15).
- 6) are more confident in having sufficient skills to do their job well (statement 16)
- 7) attach more importance to having access to people outside of the farm for information and support (statement 20).
- 8) agree more strongly that group representation is important to them (statement 21).
- 9) agree stronger with the statement that their children will benefit more from empowerment than they will.
- 10) agree that living of the farm will empower them (statement 26).

The image that arises is that coloured respondents are more self-confident, and have a more positive attitude towards the given statements than black people. The Western Cape is a province where coloured people have historically been treated better than black people (Western, 2001). This might (partly) explain the aforementioned differences. Black people might feel they (still) are 3rd class citizens in the Western Cape limiting their chances to get reasonable bank loans. The modern day implications of past discrimination might also negatively affect black people's confidence when they live/work in the Western Cape. As such, they might be less confident about having sufficient valuable skills and more fearsome about becoming employed which would explain the priority accorded to job security. Moreover, if black people feel less at home in the Western Cape that might explain why they disagree with the statement that living off the farm will empower them. After all, it might be more difficult for them to find an off-farm community which they are comfortable with and on the farm they at least know everyone. Coloured people feel more at home in the Western Cape and want to develop their future there, therefore they might also attach more value to interaction with people from outside the farm. Since these external advisers however are still within the Western Cape they might be less interesting to black people. Coloured people display a more positive attitude to current

developments; this can explain their stronger perception that their children will benefit more from empowerment than they themselves will; they have a stronger belief about future developments benefiting their children. Simultaneously the more pessimistic outlook of black people is also represented in this statement.

If, as suggested elsewhere, black people are indeed more focused in their life/future outside the Western Cape (Dieriesig, 2012) more differences can be potentially explained. With black people focusing on their lives elsewhere, their job on the farm might be seen as purely income generating rather than a choice which might make it less important to them. In addition, if the previous is true, they might view farm work as sometimes of temporary nature.⁶⁵ As such, making promotion *within* the company might not be as important to them compared to coloured respondents; they may feel more comfortable in the overall Western Cape farming environment.

On the matter of group representation the outcomes are surprising. This seems to be important coloured respondents. Yet it is not a top 5 priority to them. It might be that this is only considered as something of importance when one explicitly asked about. And, while group representation is not the same as unionization they are closely linked. Unionization is however considered as something black people are more interested in than coloured people (Ewert, 2012a); the findings of this survey contradict those ideas somewhat.

5.6.4 Age group

Respondents aged 25 or younger, compared to those aged between 26-40:

- 1) are less happy with working on the farm (statement 1).
- 2) are more eager to seek off-farm employment (statement 2).
- 3) feel less empowered now than they did five years ago (statement 4).
- 4) are more unhappy now than they were five years ago (statement 5)

Respondents aged 25 or younger, compared to those aged 40 and above, and in addition to the differences mentioned above:

- 1) disagree stronger with wanting their children to work on the farm (statement 3)
- 2) agree less strongly that current developments on the farm will benefit them (statement 6)
- 3) agree less strongly that they enjoy the work they do (statement 11)

Respondents aged between 26 and 40, compared to those aged 40 and above:

⁶⁵ This is despite the fact that 75% of the black respondents has a permanent employment contract. However, a worker might work on a farm for a few years and be a permanent employee yet still aspire to leave the farm.

- 1) agree less strongly with the statement that current on-farm developments will benefit them in the future (statement 6)

The outcomes above show that younger people are more negative about farm labour, empowerment and in general seem to be more unhappy on the farm than older people. Older respondents generally have better employment conditions (permanent position) and their ambitions have likely decreased throughout the years (Alderfer, 1969; Maslow, 1943), possibly leading to higher work enjoyment. Youth do not want to work on a farm due to the hard work, low wages and low status ascribed to it (White, 2012) and thus prefer to seek off-farm employment. Another possible reason is that younger people have (had) more exposure to non-farm life through education (public schools instead of farm schools), friends and the media. Youth thus have a different personal community shaping their occupational aspirations compared older respondents. As one gets older, their social community becomes more farm oriented, and the desire to do something else often decreases. Especially when there is no growth people become numb, accept the work they do, aspire less change and start considering their current work as fitting (Gottfredson, 1981). This underlines the importance of one's social surrounding, their perceptions of farming and of alternative areas of employment.

The appeal of urban life to youth and subsequently not reaching it (since they participated in this survey) can cause disillusionment with empowerment (after all, their aspirations are not met). As they do not achieve their personal goals and remain 'stuck' on the farm they become (more) unhappy. Older respondents who have accepted farm life have less direct ambition to do something else. They appreciate the improvements that have been made over the years while youth has nothing to contrast their current experience to and thus focuses more on what's wrong explaining why they are unhappy on the farm. This unhappiness with farm life also explains why younger respondents also are more explicit about not wanting their children to work on farms. The lack of contrasts could also explain why the younger people are more negative about what empowerment or on farm developments will bring them. Even if younger people believe they will benefit from empowerment or other developments these benefits will be perceived as less (compared to how older respondents view these benefits) due to their negative perception of everything farm-related.

5.6.5 Education

Whether or not someone had more or less than 7 years of education led to one significant difference. Those with 7+ years of education were more eager to seek off-farm employment. Those with more education might have (had) more exposure to non-farm employment (through e.g.: education, friends, media, etc.) making them more eager to pursue alternative employment. Another

explanation might be that more educated respondents are more aware of the limitations of farm work and the relatively bad employment conditions that come with it.

5.6.6 Experience with empowerment

Whether or not one has (self-proclaimed) experience with empowerment proved to result in significant differences on three out of the 29 statements.

Those workers with empowerment experience, compared to those without:

- 1) are more confident in being able to access funds from other sources than the bank (such as family, friends, etc.) (statement 8).
- 2) find it less important to be able to make promotion (statement 15).
- 3) find it less important that empowerment *directly* improves their day-to-day situation (statement 23).

Both groups are skeptical about their chances to access alternative funding, those with empowerment experience are just less skeptical. This might be a result of people with empowerment usually having better jobs and more self-confidence. People with empowerment experience attach less importance to promotions which might be the result of having received a promotion previously. Those without experience work often at the bottom end of the company and may thus attach more value to promotion opportunities as it should help to alleviate their most direct needs. Lastly, those workers who have empowerment experience are likely to be comparatively better off than those without. As such, for them there might be a less-pressing need for direct improvement. Moreover, they might have a better insight into empowerment's dynamics realizing that it is a long-term process. Finally, if a previous experience did not turn out as expected, the people who experienced this might have become disillusioned with empowerment. This could in turn cause them to lower their direct expectation(s) and make that they would rather see some long-term benefits than become disillusioned again.

5.6.7 Farm to farm differences

At farm level some interesting differences appeared. It is however difficult to relate them to specifics of those farms as researching farms and their differences (in relation to empowerment of farm workers) was not the focus of this research. Still some general remarks will be made after the differences have been listed.

Dieresig vs. Eiehuis

There is one significant difference between the perceptions of workers from Dieresig and Eiehuis.

- 1) The workers from Dieresig find more very important to be able to get loans for personal purchases, while workers from Eiehuis do not find this very important (statement 9).

Dieresig vs. Pompeblad

The responses between these farms differ significantly on six statements. The workers at Dieresig, in comparison to those at Pompeblad:

- 1) are less negative in expressing that they do not want their children to work on the farm (statement 3)
- 2) agree more with being happier now than they were five years ago (statement 5).
- 3) view current developments on the farm as positive while workers from Pompeblad do not (statement 6)
- 4) are more positive about the possibility to get a loan from the bank under reasonable conditions (statement 7)
- 5) find having good job-security more crucial (statement 12)
- 6) agree more strongly with that empowerment should *directly* improve their day-to-day situation (statement 23).

Dieresig vs. Mooisig

The responses here differ significantly on four statements. The workers at Dieresig, in comparison to those at Mooisig:

- 1) are less negative in expressing that they do not want their children to work on the farm (statement 3)
- 2) feel more empowered now than they did five years ago while workers at Mooisig disagree (statement 4)
- 3) agree with being happier now than they were five years ago while those at Mooisig disagree (statement 5)
- 4) are more positive about the possibility to get a loan from the bank under reasonable conditions (statement 7)

Dieresig vs. Skipkyk

This comparison led to one significant difference.

- 1) Those workers employed at Dieresig agree that empowerment should *directly* improve their day-to-day situation while those at Skipkyk disagree (statement 23).

Eiehuis vs. Pompeblad

There were no significant differences in the responses to the given statements between these farms.

Eiehuis vs. Mooisig

This comparison resulted in one significant difference.

- 1) Workers at Eiehuis do not consider the ability to get loans for personal purchases to be very important while those at Mooisig do (statement 9).

Eiehuis vs. Skipkyk

Two significant differences exist between these farms. Those working at Eiehuis:

- 1) do not consider the ability to get loans for personal purchases to be very important while those at Skipkyk do (statement 9).
- 2) agree less strongly that receiving life skills training is important to them (statement 28).

Pompeblad vs. Mooisig

Workers at Pompeblad perceive three statements significantly different. Those working at Pompeblad:

- 1) feel more empowered now than they did five years ago while those at Mooisig do not (statement 4)
- 2) agree less strongly that having good job-security is crucial to them (statement 12).
- 3) agree less strongly that their children will benefit more from empowerment than they do (statement 24)

Pompeblad vs. Skipkyk

This comparison also led to significant differences on three statements. Workers at Pompeblad:

- 1) are not happy with working on the farm while those at Skipkyk are (statement 1)

- 2) are of the opinion that empowerment should *directly* improve their day-to-day situation while those at Skipkyk disagree (statement 23).
- 3) agree less strongly that receiving life skills training is important to them (statement 28).

Mooisig vs. Skipkyk

In this comparison two significant differences appeared. Workers at Mooisig:

- 1) are of the opinion that empowerment should *directly* improve their day-to-day situation while those at Skipkyk disagree (statement 23).
- 2) agree less strongly that receiving life skills training is important to them (statement 28).

The fact that there are considerable differences between farms, and that these differences concern 12 of the 29 statements, leads to at least the following two conclusions.⁶⁶ First and most importantly, it implies that the conditions on a farm affect or even shape the perceptions of the entire worker community on that farm. Secondly, it means that there is also considerable similarity between the perceptions of farm workers on 17 of the 29 statements, irrespective of the farm they work on.

Farms differ greatly in terms of management, number of employees, number of acres, number and type of empowerment activities and non-wine related activities, in on-farm conditions for their employees, etc.. All these circumstantial differences could explain a great deal of the differences in perceptions. Although it could be valuable to be more explicit about the characteristics of the 5 mentioned farms and how this impacts empowerment perceptions, this cannot be done in this thesis. The data required for such has not been collected because analyzing inter-farm differences was not a research objective. Future research (with a different design) could possibly relate empowerment initiatives undertaken by the various farms to the perceptions of empowerment by the farm workers.

5.6.8 Summarizing differences in perceptions

Analysis of differences in perceptions confirms the image arising in section 5.4 that groups largely have the same priorities. Section 5.5 and 5.6 show that for the majority of statements there are no significant differences between groups. Race turned out to be the most important determining factor leading to significant differences on 10 statements. Employment status and age group both led to seven different. Whether or not someone had experience with empowerment was determining for

⁶⁶ There might be many more differences yet given the scope of this thesis they have not been included in the data collection and thus cannot be included here.

their perception in 3 statements. Analysis led to two differences along gender lines and education to one. In total, the five farms which participated in the survey saw a total of 23 significant differences but there were no more than 6 significant differences between any two farms and some inter-farm comparisons showed no significant differences.

Black people appear to be more individualistic and have on average a more negative perception towards the given statements than coloured respondents. This does not seem to be related to their employment status as most black people are permanently employed. When it comes to age we can draw similar conclusions. Younger respondents have a more negative attitude towards their empowerment situation and their future in agriculture. Employment status is also strongly influential. Those employees with a permanent contract have more job security and often better employment conditions. Therefore, permanent workers are more content with their situation and have less of an urge to seek other employment. The latter is possibly because they are less confident about having the skills to pursue off-farm employment. This not only supports the facts which show that permanent workers are better off but adds to this that they also perceive themselves as being better off when compared to temporary workers.

5.7 Summarizing farm worker views

The majority (80,4%) of the 114 respondents were permanently employed. The survey was gender balanced with 45,8% of the respondents being female. On average, the respondents worked on the farm for 10,8 years and had 7,23 years of education.

Fifty respondents completed the open-ended question about what empowerment meant to them. These responses were mostly job-related replies (*"better jobs"*), ownership related replies (*"To be a part of/shareholder in a company such as a winery."*) and future related replies (*"It means the future of my children"*). As such, empowerment to the respondents entails both material and immaterial benefits and their timeframe is principally direct although a considerable number of respondents also has a longer time-view.

When it comes to workers' priorities regarding empowerment the open ended responses provided extremely varied replies ranging from material wishes and a focus on loyalty through community related issues to educational and financial benefits. The given priorities were both material and immaterial. This is also reflected in the top 5 priorities that arose from the list in which they could select their priorities. Increased salary was however the first priority across most groups. Worker priorities included elements of all of Maslow's (1943) and Alderfer's (1969) needs. This illustrates that respondents continuously wish to satisfy the different types of needs they have. The ordering of

priorities however shows that respondents' biggest priority, increased salary, belongs to the so called 'physiological' or 'existence' need, the most basic of all needs.

The most interesting conclusion when asking workers' opinion about 29 statements was that while the respondents enjoyed the work they do, and consider it important, few want their children to work on a farm. The cause for this is likely to be found in farming being a hard job and unpopular with youth and. On the other hand people start accepting the work they do more and more as they do that work for a longer period of time. This means that respondents find farm work fitting for themselves but wish something else for their children.

Because the farm worker community is not a homogenous one, intra-group differences have been considered. The most important determinants for different attitudes towards the given statements proved to be one's racial background, their employment status and their age. The general trend discernible is that black people, temporary workers and young respondents are more pessimistic concerning their own situation compared to other groups of workers.

The sub-question of this chapter: *"What are the views of farm workers towards their own empowerment"* can now be answered. Empowerment is viewed as 'something' of vital importance to all respondents. It is seen as a way to improve livelihoods, be it their own or their children's. These views are predominantly shaped by the needs these people have. As these needs are based on one's individual situation they differ from person to person and sub-group to sub-group. Among the respondents race, employment status and age proved to be the most important distinguishing groups when it comes to respondents' priorities and perceptions. Experience with empowerment, gender, and educational levels are less important in determining which priorities and perceptions one has. When looking at differences between farms the results are varied, between some farms there are large differences while between others these differences are limited. This underlines the importance of one's context in shaping their priorities and perceptions of empowerment. It is however evident that farm workers view empowerment as something that should yield material, immaterial, short-term and long-term benefits for themselves and their children.

“Empowerment has been a disaster, an absolute disaster!” – Anonymous farmer

Chapter 6 – Farmers’ views towards empowerment

This chapter addresses the question: “*What are the views of farmers towards the empowerment of (their) farm workers*”. Their views and attitudes are essential in the way empowerment takes place *on the ground*. This chapter is based on eight interviews with farmers of seven different farms⁶⁷. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the understandings and implementations taken towards farm worker empowerment by farmer.

This chapter starts by describing what empowerment means to the various farmers and what their interpretations of this concept have in common (§6.1). This is followed by a discussion on why farmers initiate empowerment projects (§6.2) and the different experiences people had (§6.3). In §6.4 extensive attention will be paid to the farmer’s view on what s/he considers to be the priority of people working on the farm, differences within this community and where the (assumed) priorities of workers converge with or diverge from their own. Extra consideration will be given to the empowerment of people without many skills or much education. Consideration will also be given to the obstacles farmers face when trying to empower their employees, both on a practical and a regulatory level. In §6.5 recent changes and continuities concerning empowerment will be discussed. A timeframe for empowerment, considered to be realistic by the farmers interviewed, will be presented in §6.6. A short concluding discussion will be given in §6.7.

By paying considerable attention to the viewpoint of farmers this chapter acknowledges the central role played by this group. They tend to be responsible for empowerment projects from the early stages of initiation of the project until its implementation and final conclusion. Often, the costs for projects are also, at least partially, carried by the farms. As such, the views of farmers are instrumental in understanding the dynamics surrounding the implementation and debates concerning empowerment.

6.1 The meaning of empowerment

The main research question of this thesis, “*What are the views on the empowerment of farm workers in the South African wine industry?*” requires an understanding of what farmers consider to be empowerment. The participating farmers discuss empowerment, and its meaning, in terms of the

⁶⁷ The length in which each farm’s activities are described is not representative of how much money/effort they invest in their empowerment activities but rather a reflection of how detailed and/or extensive this matter was discussed during the interviews.

understandings of empowerment and the *pragmatics* empowerment projects. This chapter will show that their views towards empowerment are just as heterogeneous as the views of farm workers.

Understandings of empowerment

Understanding the system and knowing how to make the system work for you. This is how one of the farmers described his own understanding of empowerment. With this he meant that he wants (his) workers to see what opportunities there are and how they can benefit from this. Throughout the interview he emphasizes the interaction between: 1) the state, 2) the farm owner and, 3) the farm worker. His view towards empowerment illustrates this, as he puts the system through which empowerment takes place at the core. Another farmer who participated in this research sees it rather as a two-way process whereby the farmer provides the opportunities for workers to empower themselves. She however emphasizes that workers themselves must take the opportunities as workers also have an individual responsibility. The essence is to create the conditions whereby workers can start looking beyond the daily necessities of life. Then they can start thinking about their future and the future of their children. They can then develop hopes and aspirations. This process cannot start in a situation where people are preoccupied with their daily struggles.

Pragmatics

The last aforementioned informant however also approaches empowerment pragmatically when talking about *the goals* of empowerment. This goal is to *“improve the standard of living of workers and their families. To allow them to escape poverty.”*(Dieressig, 2012). The owner of Skipkyk (2012) is also pragmatic but differentiates between empowering workers on a technical/educational level (such as grape pruning skills) and empowering them on a personal level. Empowerment revolves around improving their working conditions such as salaries but at the same time increasing the responsibility workers have (personal empowerment). The importance of having responsibility and being valued for/trusted with tasks is also acknowledged by various farm workers (Pompeblad Worker Interviews, 2012; Sparkle female FGD, 2012). Strengthening the responsibility of farm workers is a key component for empowerment according to another farmer and Paul et al., (2000).

Only one participating farmer explicitly talks about ownership being essential for empowerment. To him, empowerment means giving people hope and part of a/the business so they can become self sufficient and to empower their families.

While all owners answered differently to the question *“What does empowerment mean to you?”*, the shared component was providing opportunities. However, it is also emphasized that simply giving

workers ownership or money is not the solution. It must be a reciprocal relationship whereby farmers (and the state) offer opportunities and create an environment where empowerment can take place. At the same time, workers need to take responsibility and embrace the opportunities available to them. As such, responsibility for empowerment lies with all actors involved.

6.2 Why are projects initiated?

All farmers acknowledge that empowerment is tremendously important, even though they give different meanings to the concept. Surveys carried out by the Wine Steering Committee in 2004 and 2005 indicate that, back then, 60% of the wine industry wanted to become involved with empowerment, 6% indicated that they would comply when pressured to do so and 11% expressed opposition (SAWC, 2007, p. 17). While the charter does not indicate if the surveys were only conducted among farmers/farm owners or if other industry stakeholders were also consulted it suggests that back then a majority supported empowerment.⁶⁸

Understanding what empowerment means to them (§6.1) and what projects are initiated (§6.3) is however only one side of the story. It is equally relevant to understand *why* projects are initiated by farmers because this also influences the commitment of farmers towards empowerment and the outcomes a project has. To get a deeper insight into this, industry experts have been asked why they think farmers initiate empowerment projects. By asking experts, who do not farm, a broader overview is gained which for the descriptive purpose of this thesis is more valuable than a single reason of an individual farmer. An important note to make is that for many farmers, it is a combination of the reasons mentioned hereunder that plays a role in their decision to initiate empowerment projects.

1: 'The right thing to do'

The times of pure labour exploitation, where workers were seen as tools which could be used with a total disregard for their rights are past and many farmers consider empowerment to be 'the right thing to do'. However, farmers must have the financial room to make investments into empowerment. As such, even among farmers who want to 'do the right thing' richer farmers are faster in creating initiatives. For these richer farmers their farm is not only a way to earn a living but it also reflects their status. For these people being associated with bad labour practices is too

⁶⁸ The reasons why they supported empowerment and how this developed through the years however remains unclear.

harmful. Doing the right thing also results in a 'Return on Ego' for them; so doing the right thing is good for both the workers and the farmer.⁶⁹

2: Cash injections

Profitability in the South African wine industry is under pressure and a consolidation is taking place. In 2003 there were 4.435 primary producers (Conningarth Economists, 2004), in 2009 3.667 (SAWIS, 2010) and in 2011 there were 3.527 primary grape producers (VinPro, 2012). This consolidation is partly driven by older farmers retiring and not having children/others who want to take over and partly by farms not being financially viable anymore. For farmers experiencing economic difficulties empowerment has become a way to prevent bankruptcy and/or pay off debts (Various Interviews, 2012; Williams, 2005). They sometimes might already have some 'empowering' projects but tweak them to get access to empowerment capital (Vink, 2012). Using empowerment in this way illustrates that farmers use empowerment in different ways than intended by the government. Their cooperation with the state is not willfully but a necessity required to survive.

3: Outside pressure

Outside pressure to reform the industry comes from various actors and should prevent the industry's products from being associated with anything 'bad'. One actor which arguably has the most influence, especially on wine farms that export their product overseas, are their customers: the supermarkets (Various Interviews, 2012).⁷⁰ This kind of pressure would have been unimaginable a quarter of a century ago when the South African wine industry was primarily focused on the domestic market. With the lifting of sanctions and the increased international exposure that comes with it this has however changed. These large supermarkets risk receiving bad press by being associated with bad labour practices; this risk is too high. Therefore, they demand compliance with more progressive labour standards and since the supermarkets are the most powerful actor in the value chain, their demands are arguably more impactful than those of governments or consumers. This process of inclusion in the global value chains is however not always beneficial to labour conditions in general; its implications for farm workers are at best ambiguous but likely to be detrimental for those at the bottom end of the chain, the non-permanent workers (Barrientos, Gereffi, & Rossi, 2011; du Toit, 2002; du Toit & Ewert, 2002; Knorringa & Pegler, 2006; Ponte &

⁶⁹ According to some, these interests are less reconcilable than suggested here (du Toit & Ewert, 2002).

⁷⁰ Despite positive pressures emanating from the involvement of big supermarkets this does not mean that bad labour conditions do not persist on farms that provide to these supermarkets (c.f.: BAWSI, 2011, p. 154).

Ewert, 2009). This leads us to question whether the outside pressure on farmers, which industry experts cite as a driver for transformation, is in fact positive in light of worker priorities.

Consumers, despite the buzz around fair trade/ethical products still rarely take the time to see how their wine is produced. Most consumers simply buy a bottle from the racks of the supermarket and consume it within 24 hours; these consumers are not (too) concerned about labour standards. This might be one of the reasons that there is no price premium on BEE wines as illustrated by (Niklas, Storchmann, & Vink, 2011).

A final pressure group consists of other farmers. Companies that comply with ethical initiatives such as WIETA, are encouraged to demand similar practices from their suppliers; peer pressure is exercised. This is not enforced but farmers still (might) want to comply, because they fear a new critical report such as that from Human Rights Watch surfaces and at least they can then say that their hands are clean. As such, non-compliance increasingly leads to self-isolation. A critical note is that the effects of such ethical initiatives might be more superficial as they do not address the power relations existing in the wine industry which are to the detriment of workers (du Toit, 2002; du Toit et al., 2008).

4: Government pressure and regulation

Currently many companies have a turnover which is low enough to avoid having to comply with formal B-BBEE codes of conduct. However, the government is working on increasing its enforcement opportunities. Tools for this are for example the provision of liquor licenses and/or access to water (Williams, 2005) or access to government loans. The government can create a powerful compliance incentive by making the provision of licenses and water rights conditional upon the improvement of labour conditions and compliance with the B-BBEE codes of conduct. Experience in the mining industry has shown *“that where government has real leverage (through [water] licences, quotas, buying power) and applies political will, ownership targets can be reached more easily”* (Ponte et al., 2007, p. 943) This in itself is not a guarantee for success and its effectiveness beyond increasing ownership is uncertain (Ponte & Sittert, 2007). However it certainly would be a incentive to comply in an industry that currently has few such incentives.

That the combination of laws and societal pressure is a powerful tool to change the status quo is also supported by Arya and Bassi (2009) who argue that *“laws create strong external pressures for corporate social change efforts that are further exacerbated by outside stakeholder groups such as customers, institutional investors, and NGOs”* (p. 675). These laws create certain expectations among various stakeholders, including farm workers and should be carefully considered as not to cause

disillusionment. Within the wine industry many farms are however small enough not to meet the threshold of where B-BBEE compliance becomes compulsory (> 35 million rand) which means they either have simplified requirements or are exempted from compliance.

5: Marketing

With the South African and international markets being flooded with hundreds of brands/labels from producers from all over the world, South African farms have difficulty positioning their brand. Becoming a 'BEE' brand with the accompanying (assumed) improved conditions for workers thus can become a marketing tool for wineries. This differs from point 3 in that this tries to appeal and rebrand the industry as being progressive while the outside pressure is rather a form of damage control in case of negative publications such as those from Human Rights Watch (2011). The marketing reason is not bad in itself, when a genuine improvement of conditions is used to make a farm more profitable all people on that specific farm could benefit. Interestingly however Niklas et al. (2011) show that there is no price premium on BEE wines. Starting a BEE brand might thus be useful in distinguishing oneself from other brands, but it does not yield higher financial rewards.

To change or not to change?

To conclude, farms have various reasons to engage with empowerment and it is often a combination of reasons that make farmers decide to continue with reforms. Farmers themselves consistently say that they reform because it is the right thing to do, but it is likely that business considerations also play a considerable role. One industry expert said that “[farmers] must have a will to change [but] it must also make business sense because it is their livelihood” (Erasmus, 2012). This quote also illustrates the difficulties in this process. When the costs are too high and must be carried by the farm it might in the short term not make sense to implement changes. Section 6.4.4 will discuss these (financial) obstacles in more detail. The South African Wine Council wrote in their 2007 report ‘The Wine Industry Transformation Charter’:

“By and large, farmers do have an incentive to go beyond management strategies based on expendable, low-wage labour. This has resulted in improved wages, higher levels of training and modernized management approaches, required not only by law, but by the imperatives of survival in an increasingly competitive sector. However, selective modernization and partial compliance with labour laws have resulted in strategies that rely on elements of both traditional paternalist and modern management approaches” (SAWC, 2007, p. 14).

6.3 Empowerment experiences among farmers

All farmers participating in this research have experience with empowerment to some degree. These experiences shape their attitudes and views concerning empowerment. The various experiences of farmers will first be categorically described.⁷¹

6.3.1 Experiences

Business experiences

The owner of Eiehuis (2012) believes that the people who work the land should also own part of the land/industry and that, when done in the right way, empowerment is something positive. The owner was involved in the establishment of an empowerment wine brand in which he retained a minority share. This meant he could not control certain aspects of the project. Many previously disadvantaged people were shareholders. In the project, the government was involved in appointing managers on different positions who, according to the owner, did not know what they were doing or simply did not perform their jobs well. Part of the problem was that the appointed managers supposedly had 10-12 projects at a time and could/would not invest the time required to make this project a success. The project eventually went bust due to internal disputes over who was responsible for what.

In 2000 the owner of Mooisig (2012) started an empowerment brand called for his employees, fictively called Tesame. They held 40% of the shares while Mooisig owned 60%. The workers (25) who became shareholder did not buy their shares, they were given to them. The project paid out cash dividends twice, not because it turned a profit but because the owner wanted to keep the workers motivated to make the project a success.⁷² The participating workers were slowly guided to see how the business works.

In order to qualify for government support land ownership also had to be a part of the project. Therefore, a 23 hectare plot which was part of Mooisig was to be sold to Tesame. As a result, the project could qualify for R12-13m of government support to purchase the land and to run the rest of the project. It was to encompass vineyards, a tasting room, a small restaurant, chalets and an equestrian center. All plans were approved and workers were prepared by following trainings such as

⁷¹ For different examples and a more technical analysis on how those schemes have been structured please consult (du Toit et al., 2008).

⁷² Here we must take note that *“although the levels of equity owned by the workers may be sufficient to meet the requirements of BEE (e.g. 25 per cent), the size of the stake of any individual worker, hence their level of economic interest, is small. A related problem is that the size of these projects does not allow many beneficiaries to participate actively in the daily management, problem-solving and growing of the business. In a situation where beneficiaries include not only workers, but also their families and other resident farm dwellers, this may lead to discontent among shareholders who are not working on the farm because of a perception that they are not adequately informed or that they are being defrauded.”* (du Toit et al., 2008, p. 25)

wine tasting courses. The evening before all documents were to be signed the worker representative and a person who represented another Mooisig worker at a CCMA⁷³ dispute called all workers to a meeting.⁷⁴ They convinced the workers not to trust Mooisig and instead to use the government money to buy a sheep farm. However, the government money would only be given to a project with a clear business plan and where the workers worked in close cooperation with both the government and the farmer as their mentor. Thus, the whole project collapsed and Mooisig just continued with the already established Tesame empowerment brand.

At a later stage, government funding for Tesame became possible but it then had to be completely 'black owned'.⁷⁵ This was arranged and one of the workers of Mooisig became the managing director of Tesame but mismanaged the company. Mooisig could not interfere since they were not a shareholder anymore. Mooisig tried to influence the managing director because, while working for Tesame, Mooisig continued to pay his salary. However, the agreements made between Mooisig and the managing director of Tesame were not met and eventually the dispute resulted in the death of the project. According to the owner of Mooisig the project was mismanaged to such an extent that it collapsed. He believes it is essential for the current farmers to retain a share in new BEE-projects to provide the expertise required to make a business successful and also to ensure requirements such as reporting are carried out in an adequate manner.

Pompeblad takes a different approach. Workers from Pompeblad are united in a trust which (partly) owns a bottling facility. The choice not to start a farm/brand for his workers was deliberate, as the farming industry is a difficult one where rewards (dividends) are not instantaneous. In the service-providing sector rewards can be reaped faster retaining the motivation of workers. So far this project seems to be doing well even though government loans must still be paid off (Pompeblad Worker Interviews, 2012). Currently the workers of Pompeblad work on the project at least every other weekend.⁷⁶

⁷³ According to the The Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) they are "*a dispute resolution body established in terms of the Labour Relations Act, 66 of 1995 (LRA). It is an independent body, does not belong to and is not controlled by any political party, trade union or business.*" - <http://www.ccma.org.za/> retrieved on 13th of April 2012.

⁷⁴ This person worked at Mooisig and was chosen by the workers themselves to represent him. According to the owner, he was chosen because he probably had more education than the other workers.

⁷⁵ Black owned within this context means that ownership should lie with previously disadvantaged people.

⁷⁶ In total, 72 workers from multiple farms hold 50% of the shares in this project. The other 50% is owned by a family with a history in wine farming.

Educational experiences

The owner of Dieresig explains that their focus is on education and skills training. They provide pre- and after-school support for the children of their employees. Support is essential to provide the children with better chances in society. In many households, especially those where parents had little education themselves, the environment is not conducive to the education of these children. Often, their parents cannot help with homework and there is also often no quiet place where one can study. There is also a tertiary education fund that is created to help young people on the farm study at university. Simultaneously, weekend activities are (sometimes) organized to prevent the young from getting “*up to no good*” (Dieresig, 2012). The idea behind providing education and training to employees and their children is to create employees from within the farm community with the skills required for higher positions within the company.⁷⁷ Lastly his experience is that the people who qualify for promotion and/or other empowering opportunities such as courses are those who have a relatively high level of education/skills.

Sparkle has experiences with empowerment dating back to the late 1970s when they established an on-farm crèche. Nowadays there is also after-school support. In 2002 a new project was created providing workers with training and education which focus on strengthening the farm worker community. Training and education are twofold and focus on both life and technical skills.

Heuvelsig focuses on providing training in life skills. This includes dental help and training covering e.g. HIV/AIDs, which is a big problem within the worker community. Workers also have access to a social worker from outside the farm in case they need help with various issues. An employment equity plan is available to workers but according to the farmer many workers do not really understand the equity program. Heuvelsig also has a health program for its workers. Workers themselves are highly interested in (preventing) fetal alcohol syndrome. Despite Heuvelsig’s focus on health care, health care was not mentioned as a big priority during the focus group discussion with its workers.

When considering educational initiatives some critical notes must be made. Prior to the emergence of “empowerment” as a concept, many farms, especially in more rural settings, provided some form of school (with government subsidy) for the children of their workers. Nowadays the state has taken over the provision of education to children. Farms that provide pre-/after-school support thus might not do much more in that sense than they did in the ‘pre-empowerment’ era. This support however is essential. Firstly because of the additional problems faced by children of farm workers and

⁷⁷ Dieresig is a family-owned business. As such, previously disadvantaged people will not be eligible for the highest functions/ownership of the company but could qualify for any position below that.

secondly because the quality of instructors in public schools is often low. Without good external support farm worker children would thus be worse off when compared to other children. For farm(er)s this is a relatively easy way to be viewed in a positive light, because it is a continuation of what happened before while now it is also considered to be empowering.

New in the realm of education is the emergence of life/technical training skills and the provision of bursaries for tertiary education. Life and technical skills were not something that received (significant) attention in the pre-empowerment era. The industry was based on cheap, unskilled labour producing wine for the domestic market. Now that the (international) market has opened up, and the demands for quality products keep increasing, it is imperative to have motivated, skilled workers (Ewert & du Toit, 2005, p. 317). In order to keep workers motivated, their life skills must be upgraded which helps to improve their self-esteem. This motivation is also dependent on one's appreciation from others, including the farmer, which comes from how well they do their work. At the same time, a quality product cannot be delivered unless workers know how to prune, how to harvest, etc. This type of education (life/technical skills) is something relatively new and certainly empowers workers by giving them more skills and appreciation. The same goes for tertiary education which historically has been out of reach for most farm workers. Now there are (limited) bursaries provided and at least a few more youth will be able to become more empowered. This does however result in a very narrow form of empowerment and there are difficulties in finding qualified youth to take up such bursaries. When they do, they rarely decide to study agricultural-related programs and are not eager to act as role models on the farm that provides the bursary.

Organizational experiences

About 10 years ago workers at Dieresig could elect their own representatives. However, these representatives were often chosen along lines of seniority and group hierarchies, which meant that not always the best representatives were chosen. Input coming from these representatives also dried up after half a year, leading to the abolition of this system. Currently workers are represented through appointed representatives which seems to be working well (Dieresig, 2012) yet this might result in workers feeling less part of the farm (du Toit, 1993, p. 330). At Eiehuis and Skipkyk workers are also represented through worker committees. At Skipkyk the representatives are chosen by the workers themselves and include at least one woman. At Sparkle 64% of the workers is represented through a trade union (Sikhula Sonke).

Housing experiences

Workers no longer always want to live on the farm according to the owner of Dieresig. People increasingly want to live outside the farm boundaries and Dieresig supports this by providing a housing allowance and support when deeds need to be transferred. This is considered to be empowering because moving out of the farm means the farmer is less present in the life of the worker.⁷⁸ Another reason for farm workers to desire off-farm housing is the often deplorable condition of farm housing (Ewert & Hamman, 1999, p. 217). Sparkle is working on the construction of 15 off-farm houses but these are not yet completed.

Miscellaneous experiences

Dieresig is engaged in two farming-related projects. Firstly, it supports a black-owned brand in the form of a mentorship program where skills and knowledge are transferred, helping the enterprise develop. Secondly there is a vegetable gardening project where Dieresig tries to teach people how to run a small (vegetable) business. Participants in this project are non-farm workers and are provided with inputs such as seeds, fertilizer, water, etc. The Provincial Department of Agriculture is actively involved with this as a partner. Its staff has small patches of land where they can produce crops for personal consumption or sale.

The experience with empowerment of the owner of Pompeblad's goes back to the late 1960s/early 1970s when the Rural Foundation was started. This movement focused on the empowerment of farm workers by providing farm workers with alternative ways to spend their free time in the evenings and weekends. Alcoholism was a big problem negatively affecting the farm worker community. By organizing movie nights and sports activities an alternative to drinking was provided (Bosman, 2012). The importance of providing alternative recreation such as sports fields on the farm is recognized and supported by various interviewees (Skipkyk, 2012; Sparkle, 2012).⁷⁹

Within Skipkyk there is a focus on training, in-house promotion, activities such as sports and improved housing. Empowerment in general however has, according to the owner of Skipkyk, been "*a disaster*". There is no government support for it. Quite a few (10-12) years ago the owner tried, together with others, to raise funds for empowerment projects. They managed to get 1million rand from a bank. However, there have been a myriad of problems down the road with the government,

⁷⁸ Chapter 5 however illustrates that, with few exceptions, people are content with their housing situation. If they live on the farm now, they are likely to want to continue to live on the farm. People who live off the farm want to live off the farm.

⁷⁹ For more information on the link between alternative recreation, alcoholism see chapter 3 and 5.

there have been regulatory obstacles, changes in departments involved, etc. The whole empowerment sector is chaotic. The owner explains that there is a strong desire to transform the industry from the producers' side but that a lack of clear framework for empowerment impedes progress.

Sparkle is actively pursuing B-BBEE and WIETA accreditation.⁸⁰ The owner however emphasizes the high financial, time and regulatory demands before a farm can get their B-BBEE accreditation. As a part of Sparkle's process of obtaining B-BBEE accreditation eight learnership positions have been created for workers on the farm.⁸¹ However, Sparkle has difficulty finding qualified applicants for such positions.

The owner further notes that, in his experience, international customers such as supermarkets and end-consumers increasingly demand wine that is produced in an ethical way creating a push towards empowerment.

The farmer at Heuvelsig explains that there is a big problem with workers not wanting to be uplifted. When steps were taken by Heuvelsig to empower a worker, jealousy and envy among other workers lead to gossip and conflict within their community, a common feature of farm life (du Toit, 1993, p. 326). This can result in people deciding not to continue with the empowerment options provided. Illustrative for this 'jealousy' is the case where a worker received support to obtain his driving license but faced so much pressure from his peers on the farm that he eventually stopped pursuing his license.⁸² The farmer at Heuvelsig also experiences problems with finding people from within their own community that can be empowered. This is due to a lack of both technical, social and literacy skills which are required in higher functions within the farm. This clash between individual needs and aspirations and peer pressure deserves further research. The group can impose constraints on people who want to become more empowered but are not strong enough to resist the downward drag from their peers. This is also expressed in the survey (statement 19, chapter 5.5): farm workers expressed a neutrality in being supported by their peers in becoming more empowered. As a result only those farm workers who are the strongest and most ambitious can uplift themselves.⁸³

⁸⁰ WIETA is the Wine Industry Ethical Trading Association and is "is a multi-stakeholder, non-profit voluntary organisation which actively promotes ethical trade in the wine industry value chain through training, technical assessment and audits to assess members' compliance with its code of good practice. Stakeholders include producers, retailers, trade unions, non-governmental organisations and the government." - <http://www.wieta.org.za/> retrieved on the 18th of October 2012.

⁸¹ When a previously disadvantaged woman receives a learnership position this counts double.

⁸² For more information on unsupportive colleagues please see section 5.6.2

⁸³ This only applies to people who want to/are to be empowered while already working/living on the farm. People who are empowered outside the farm and are directly hired in higher positions of the company do not experience this restrictive environment as the example of Ntsiki Biyela (chapter 8.2.2) illustrates.

6.3.2 Discussion of farmer experiences

The above paragraphs show the diversity in empowerment projects pursued by the different farms. But there are also many similarities. These projects are summarized in the table below, after which the similarities and differences will be discussed further. If a farm is not listed below as engaging with a certain type of empowerment activity, this does not mean they do not address this but merely that it was not discussed explicitly in the interviews held with them.

Table 14: Farmer experiences with empowerment

	Dieresig	Eiehuis	Pompeblad	Mooisig	Skipkyk	Sparkle	Heuvelsig
Business experiences		X	X	X			
Educational experiences	X					X	X
Organizational experiences	X	X			X	X	
Housing experiences	X					X	
Miscellaneous experiences	X		X		X	X	X

First of all, the business experiences that involved a transfer of land and ownership failed. The difficulties with such projects are recognized, leading to different approaches at other farms. However, many programs focus on other aspects affecting the daily life of workers such as education and housing.

At every farm, particular attention is paid to education and skills training, often focusing on youth. This is a distinct break from the previous industry era when the focus was on low quality wine for the domestic market. Higher quality demands and increasing international scrutiny cause a need for workers to become more skilled. Unsurprisingly skills training is seen as the way forward but it also means the time horizon is a long one. Farmers experience problems with finding qualified workers from within their own community to make full use of the empowerment options at their disposal.

Another shared experience among some of the farms participating in this research is one of difficulties with government involvement. They either experience insufficient support or feel that bureaucracy is a drag. As such, they mostly operate outside the government framework. This can however not be seen as very surprising. At multiple farms empowering programs have been initiated

prior to the 2003 Black Economic Empowerment legislation. The specific difficulties on various levels of empowerment will be discussed in §6.4.4

Despite these difficulties, all farmers, despite not being legally obliged, continue to pursue empowerment in various ways.⁸⁴ Their experiences, be it positive or negative and be it related to their workers or to the government, might influence the way in which they pursue empowerment.

A final recurring theme in some of the interviews is the difficulty farm workers experience when working together, be it when it comes to empowering an individual or the community as a whole.

6.4 Farmer's views

The farmers were also asked to reflect on the farm worker community and to share their thoughts on the priorities farm workers have; which differences they see within the farm worker community and if these priorities differ or converge with their own. With 60.000+ people working in the wine industry treating this group as homogenous would be unjust (SAWIS 2009, cited in VinPro 2011, p. 23). Nonetheless, when talking about groups, especially groups that one is not a part of, means that generalization takes place.⁸⁵ The following sections must thus also be seen as generalized perceptions from outsiders.

Some of the following sections have been described in chapter 5 and are based on information provided by farm workers themselves. Seeing how farmers think about the worker community nonetheless serves a purpose. They frequently decide what empowerment activities are pursued on the farm and thus their sensitivity to, and understanding of, the priorities of farm workers is highly relevant.

6.4.1 Worker priorities

Salaries, housing and the future of their children are the main priorities of workers according to the farmers.⁸⁶ Salaries are important for multiple reasons as noted by one of the interviewed farmers. Increased salaries are related to getting promoted. This better position within the company not only translates into direct financial gains but also often comes with increased respect and responsibility

⁸⁴ Some farms however face pressure from their customers to adhere to certain practices/principles which are also considered to be empowering.

⁸⁵ For this reason, the owner of Pompeblad refused to comment on things regarding *what workers think*. I was to ask those questions to the workers themselves.

⁸⁶ This is in line with the worker priorities as described in chapter 5.4

which is something workers aspire to achieve. This is confirmed when one farmer explains that workers want to be more proud, more wealthy and more respected.

While workers (can) have multiple priorities one owner notes that the major concern for workers lies with material improvement (salaries) worrying less about things like education.⁸⁷

6.4.2 Differences within the farm worker community

Three general distinctions were brought up during the interviews with farmers. Some farmers do not believe there are strict categories but rather believe the priorities of farm workers are largely similar.

Generational gap

Firstly, there is a generational distinction brought up by the owner of Mooisig (2012) whereby the older generation, without providing a clear age, are in general less concerned with empowerment than the young ones. The older generation has grown accustomed to their situation and do not really feel the need to change things if they need to put in a lot of effort. The younger people are more ambitious. This is in line with the findings of this research as shown in chapter 5.5.4 and 5.7.4. and can be explained by the stagnation in ambitions among workers who have lived in dire conditions for a considerable amount of time (Gottfredson, 1981). Youth does not want to stay on the farm but they want to grow and improve their prospects elsewhere. Talented black people are oriented towards Johannesburg and want to become successful there. Talented coloured people also look at the options in/near the Stellenbosch region but outside of farming. There is difficulty in retaining ambitious and smart youth because they are rarely interested in becoming a farmer (Dieriesig, 2012; Skipkyk, 2012; White, 2012). Some disagree with this and say the increasing opportunities for non-whites in agriculture and the familiarity of farm life make it attractive to youth (Eiehuis, 2012). This however seems to be a minority view.

Gender

A second distinction which is made is along gender lines. This was brought up during an interview at Heuvelsig where it is said that the worker community is still relatively old fashioned and biased gender ideas about work exist. Working with shovels for example is a man's job and women are not keen to do such things, they do not want to do a man's work. Within the community it would be

⁸⁷ Increased salaries are indeed the #1 priority among farm workers but educational opportunities for their children is also of great importance to them.

unimaginable for a woman to work in the cellar. Nonetheless, they will do any type of work when asked to. The people will not easily (openly) complain and they are happy to be able to work (and thus earn something). Considerable differences between male and female priorities have been established in chapter 5.4.2 where men seem more focused on material and direct benefits while women attach relatively more importance to immaterial aspects of empowerment. In general farmers support this view.

Geography/race

The third distinction is related to the geographical origin of workers. Workers from the Eastern Cape (often referred to as black people but sometimes as Africans as well) have their families and first home in the Eastern Cape and go there every holiday. They focus on what happens there and they try to save money (if possible) for their time back in the Eastern Cape. They are not particularly interested in building up a future (including housing etc.) in the Western Cape. Workers who are born in the Western Cape (often referred to as the coloured community) are more local in their orientation and want to develop their lives here, with all the accompanying wishes.⁸⁸ The farmers suggesting this distinction seem to equate geographical origin with race. The survey did not directly inquire about workers' origin but did record whether workers identified themselves as black people or coloured people.

6.4.3 Empowering those at the bottom of the labour hierarchy

Farmers are skeptical about the prospects of empowering workers who have few skills. The people qualifying for opportunities within the farm such as training courses, bursaries and promotions are often, if not always people who are already relatively empowered. This comment in no way is unique to empowerment in the wine industry but it is a general feature of affirmative action (Sabbagh, 2004, p. 22). The people at the bottom of society however do have their dreams, hopes and aspirations yet they are likely to become disillusioned. The farmer at Dieresig explains that when parents do not ensure that their children finish school the children are being set up for failure. Controlling such aspects of one's life however sharply contrasts with the feudal (and paternalist) way of life of the old days, which is heavily criticized but continue to persist. Trying to stay out of worker's lives however makes it hard to address some of the problems which farm workers face. In general this group will experience little empowerment (Ewert & du Toit, 2005).

⁸⁸ This is not confirmed by my data from the farm workers themselves but due to the limited data on this the explanation given here cannot be dismissed on the basis of this research.

Nonetheless, specific training programs are designed to address this need through courses specifically catering to the level of understanding of farm workers by using language and images to which workers at the lower end of the community can relate (Sparkle, 2012; Eiehuis, 2012). However, courses alone are not enough. Continuing to work together with the people and mentoring them is also required because *“nothing beats practical experience”* (Mooisig, 2012).

There appears to be a broad consensus that people who have low skills and education have extra difficulty in becoming empowered. This can partly be attributed to a shift towards higher skilled labour and a failure of the government to enforce existing legislation (Ponte et al., 2007). Many farmers concentrate their efforts on ensuring a better future for the children by trying to stimulate responsibility among the parents. This is to ensure the children will not end up having as few skills and education as their parents. However for many people at the bottom of the ladder of skills and education the prospects for empowerment seem to be bleak.⁸⁹

6.4.4 Obstacles to empowerment

When interviewing farmers and industry experts the problems farmers face regarding the empowerment of (their) workers were also discussed. These problems can be roughly classified in two categories: 1) practical obstacles and, 2) regulatory obstacles. The weight and composition of these obstacles vary from farm to farm. When it comes to the practical component, seven distinct obstacles have been identified through the interviews. These are: 1) Financial constraints; 2) Family ownership; 3) Business skills; 4) Constraining environment; 5) Alcohol and drug abuse; 6) Teenage pregnancies and, 7) Unionization. When considering regulatory obstacles, the following six have been brought forward. 1) Bureaucratic slowness and changing regulations; 2) Lack of state support; 3) Politicization of empowerment; 4) Farm accreditation; 5) Course accreditation; 6) Lack of enforcement. Some obstacles such as financial constraints can sometimes be considered a practical as well as a regulatory obstacle.

⁸⁹ The limited prospects for empowerment of the masses are exacerbated by the problems with the B-BBEE framework in terms of applicability and the relative freedom farms have to selectively focus on scorecard elements. This allows the ownership component to be ignored. The upside is that this provides an alternative to the heavily criticized ‘elite/mogul forming’ ownership deals (Freund, 2007; Southall, 2006; Williams, 2005). The scope for empowerment is however limited when management is the highest level one can reach. The (mostly small) size of the 3.527 farms means that even if all would comply it would effect only a small change in the total farm worker population.

Practical obstacles

- 1) Financial constraints are considered a major obstacle for the (further) implementation of empowerment initiatives. The wine farming industry is not a highly profitable one and the costs for empowerment projects can be considerable. When investing a lot in empowerment without seeing the desired results this is disappointing and disillusioning for all. Attached to this is the fear of free-riders, workers who follow training and then leave to work at other farms/industries.
- 2) A second practical obstacle is that many farms are so called 'family farms'. Those farms have often been in the same family for generations. For the people owning such farms, a transfer of ownership is often inconceivable. This supports the image of farmers resenting change and it maintains the image of the wine industry being dominated by whites. The consequence is that previously disadvantaged people who want to enter the industry often have to start a farm from scratch which comes with considerable costs.⁹⁰ At the same time, it means that employees on farms that have the capability to run the farm face a glass ceiling at some point.
- 3) The lack of skills and knowledge among farm workers, especially in relation to how to run a business, is also identified as a problem. Workers do not always know how to carry out the responsibilities that come with positions within a company, be it being a shareholder or as an employee/board member (Jacobs, 2012; Mooisig, 2012).
- 4) Another restricting factor for empowerment is the negative peer pressure preventing people from achieving their full potential. One NGO worker explains this as follows: *"The collective psyche on the farm makes it hard to stand out and go for it. One doesn't want to be seen as the boss's favourite blue eyed boy."* At the same time, workers might have a fear for their colleagues growing because *"in farm communities, people can be afraid that once someone learns something new, matriculates, gets some skills, etc, they will start bossing them around, telling them what to do, etc."* (Marco-Thyse, 2012).
- 5) Alcohol and drug abuse is also identified as a persisting problem within farm worker communities. This has a negative influence on the environment where children grow up. Addiction has a negative impact on the ambition and abilities of workers to perform their jobs well (Ames, Grube, & Moore, 1997; Mangione et al., 1999).
- 6) Two farmers, independently from each other, identified teenage pregnancies as a substantial problem because it limits the extent to which women can pursue education/careers. When this

⁹⁰ This is especially problematic in the Stellenbosch region where wine farms are abundant and the production costs of wine grapes per hectare are the highest of all wine producing regions in South Africa (VinPro 2012, p. 142)

happens and they do not have enough education and skills they may end up in the same problematic situation as their parents.⁹¹

- 7) The lack of unionization makes it hard to open up the industry and to effectively bargain for better worker conditions. This is in part attributable to the unwillingness of farmers to allow unionization on their farms, in part due to the distrust some workers display towards unions and in part due to the limited organizational capacity and priorities of unions (BAWSI, 2011).

Regulatory obstacles

1. Firstly, the government works slowly, according to the owner of Mooisig (2012), and the rules and regulations they have are unclear and keep changing. There is no clear framework/policy environment within which empowerment takes place. Related to this is that there are no proper exit mechanisms in case problems arise with a project. This uncertainty prevents many people from starting projects because it is too unclear what will happen when one party decides it does not want to continue. Also related to the policy environment and identified in the preceding chapters is that many farms are too small to be obligated to comply with current B-BBEE regulation. Furthermore the vagueness surrounding the meaning and objectives of empowerment leads to unrealistic expectations (McEwan & Bek, 2006, 2009).
2. A second but closely related obstacle is a (perceived) lack of state support and distrust towards the state. There is a widespread feeling that farm owners are to pay and organize everything. The state is not seen as a partner which might explain to a certain extent why many of the farms included in this research pursue empowerment outside the B-BBEE framework.
3. The politicization of empowerment is problematic because many farmers simply want to run their business (profitably) without being dragged in to the political debate surrounding empowerment.
4. Compounding the practical problems is the fact that not all courses are officially accredited. When courses do not have accreditation the farm cannot request a refund for these training costs from the Sector Education Training Authorities (SETA). This means that the costs for such courses come solely on the farm and not every farmer can afford this.
5. At Sparkle (2012) the owner explains that becoming B-BBEE (and WIETA) accredited is an arduous task involving expensive and lengthy procedures while there are no tangible benefits yet.

⁹¹ From the 16 female farm worker respondents in the survey of 25 or younger 15 reported to have one or more children.

6. A lack of government enforcement of affirmative action policies and practices has been identified as being detrimental to farm worker empowerment. Currently the government has limited options to enforce compliance with B-BEEE in the wine industry. It is working on improving this by making the provision of water/liquor licenses dependent upon compliance but as of yet this is not the case. Other laws meant to e.g. prevent unpaid overwork, adequate housing standards, etc., are also not strongly enforced due to limited state capacity. This is constantly reaffirmed in interviews and the consequence of this lack of enforcement is that farmers can continue their (neo-)paternalist reign over their farms, ignoring the law at times. Compliance has not been rewarded and perhaps more importantly, non-compliance has not been punished. The assumed “natural” change that legitimizes non-enforcement has proven to be illusory (Ponte et al., 2007).

Concluding, it can be said that all these obstacles combined make pursuing empowerment an extremely demanding task both in terms of financial input and time wise. Both these resources are scarce, limiting the pursuit of empowerment. This is severed by a constantly changing framework which is unclear to many people from the start. The environment in which empowerment should be pursued is not conducive.

6.5 Changes and continuities in recent years

6.5.1 Changes

According to the owner of Dieriesig (2012) the state has withdrawn itself from empowerment efforts in recent years leaving it up to the farming community itself. This does however not mean that the industry does not change, but that change has been based on private/industry initiatives. The government has given the industry statutory authority to levy members of which 20% is to be used for transformation.⁹² Furthermore, mentorship programs such as the Cape Wine Guild have been established to mentor previously disadvantaged individuals who want to pursue a career in winemaking.

Another non-state initiative which tries to make a transformative impact on the wine industry is the Wine Industry Ethical Trade Association (WIETA).⁹³ WIETA is a not-for-profit, voluntary association

⁹² The levies imposed consist of four parts, a ‘research levy’, ‘information levy’, ‘export levy’ and a ‘transformation levy’. How high the exact levy is depends on the product stage at which the levy is imposed (grapes, grape juice, bulk wine, packaged wine). For more details, please see the Notice 406 of 2013 in regard to the continuation of statutory measures in the wine industry (National Agricultural Marketing Council, 2013)

⁹³ According to (McEwan & Bek, 2009) the expectations about the transformative potential of WIETA are unrealistic.

which accredits and promotes ethical trade (see also chapter 4.2.1). The reason behind farms participating in such schemes, can according to the owner of Skipkyk (2012), be found in reports such as the 2012 Human Rights Watch 'Ripe with Abuse'. When producers get accredited by WIETA they commit themselves to only source grapes from other accredited farms so that when a report like the one from Human Rights Watch is published they can at least prove that their hands are clean.

A third transformation that is taking place is the availability of positions for previously disadvantaged individuals within the company (Eiehuis, 2012). Aside from the top positions in family-owned farms virtually all positions are now available which was very different from 10 years ago (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012). While the limited number of farms/higher positions in the farms represents an obstacle to empowering masses of farm workers this transformation represents a break with the racial barriers that used to restrict the advancement of non-whites within the industry. The farmer at Eiehuis attributes these changes partly to the fact that many of the "old style" farmers are making room for a younger generation that is more open/tolerant towards change. Moreover, with few people being interested in (wine) farming there is a skills shortage developing which the sons/daughters of current farmers cannot or will not fill. Ultimately, this is a risk to the wine industry, underwriting the need to provide better and more skills training to workers (Davidson, Ouane, Phillipotts, Thelwell, & Tung, 2009; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2012). Therefore the industry also has a strong interest in developing the set of skills of previously disadvantaged individuals if it wants to survive. Empowerment is thus not purely benevolent but also driven by necessity.

In general, more opportunities have become available to workers. Increased (international) exposure, better regulation and a will to change have caused an improvement for some workers. These changes however come from a very low base, are narrowly concentrated and do not take place on all farms. The poorer and more isolated the farm, the less likely it is that workers have seen significant changes over the past few years. After all, empowerment projects are expensive and when a farm is not exposed to tourists, consumers or other pressure groups they are less likely to invest in empowerment.⁹⁴

6.5.2 Continuities

For all the changes that have taken place within the industry two key features remains unchanged. The first is the continuing possibilities farmers have to pursue paternalistic approaches to workers. The second is the resistance farmers display towards the state.

⁹⁴ It can however not be said frequently enough that the single and most important determining factor is the will to change from the farmer.

Room for paternalism

A paternalist attitude whereby the farmer exerts (almost) total control over workers remains present. In chapter 4.1 I described how paternalism had become an integrated characteristic of the wine industry and the interviews held with farmers and industry experts only lend weight to this. The oversupply of workers is the first reason why this remains in place. Workers do not easily get a permanent appointment unless the farmer knows and trusts them. This means that (potentially) 'troublesome' temporary workers will not receive a permanent position. Those that do are workers that are largely willing to work on the farmer's conditions. The fear of being retrenched prevents workers from making a stance to significantly change the power relations between them and the farmer.

A part of the problem here is that worker's bargaining power is abysmal. This is due to various reasons. Firstly the skills deficit among workers ensures that their labour-mobility is severely restricted. Many workers only know 'farm work' and will find it hard to apply those skills in other (e.g. industrial) sectors. They thus remain relatively tied to farms where they have to compete with the 1.847.000 unemployed people seeking employment in the Western Cape (Statistics South Africa, 2012b, p. ix). Secondly, workers remain poorly informed about their rights and how they can exercise these. The more rural the setting, the bigger their lack of access to information. This means that farmers can provide them with information that suits the farmer's ends while withholding other information. Thirdly farm workers are poorly organized, let alone unionized and when they try to do so this frequently leads to problems with farmers who oppose this. Union penetration becomes more problematic as farms become more isolated (rural) due to constraints on their organizational capacity (BAWSI, 2011). Union membership continues to be low (Ewert & du Toit, 2005; Ewert & Hamman, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2011) and not all farmers support their workers to be unionized because this increases the complexity of workplace relations. Once a worker has been unionized the contact between worker and farmer changes and many issues should from then on be arranged with the union instead of with the worker or farmer directly (Dieriesig, 2012). While this is inherent in workers becoming unionized it illustrates that farmers often want to retain exclusive control over their workers.

The state has been ineffective in enforcing the rights of workers with the consequence that standing up for one's rights can be dangerous. This does not mean that worker rights have not improved, on the contrary, the situation is improved compared to 10-20 years ago (Ockers, 2012). However, despite these (marginal) improvements the state continues to lack the power to enforce less paternalistic relations between workers and farmers.

Resistance to the state

As has become clear, few farmers think highly of the government. They lambast the state for its corruption, incompetence in providing a clear policy framework and a general (perceived) lack of support. The empowerment initiatives in which the state and the interviewed farmers were involved together, were far from a success causing both parties to become disillusioned and demotivated. Most projects that are started however are initiated by farmers themselves. Even where state support is possible, such as by reclaiming training costs through SETA this is often not done. This might be due to the (slow) bureaucratic process surrounding it, but it is also illustrative for farmer's unwillingness to engage with the state.

As such, we see that workers remain in a precarious situation, temporary/casual workers even more so than permanent workers. Farmers continue to have the means to dictate the relationship between themselves and the workers. At the same time, there is a continuing distrust towards the state and unless it is essential for the farm's survival (e.g.: when empowerment funds are used as a bailout) the state is kept as far away as possible. This attitude towards the state – use it when necessary, keep it at distance when possible – is a continuation of the relation between farmers and the state described in chapter 4. Paternalism thus continues to be a defining characteristic of the wine industry (Erasmus, 2012; Ewert & Hamman, 1999; Marco-Thyse, 2012).

6.6 A timeframe for empowerment

When discussing a timeframe for empowerment to be 'complete' very different answers were given. Complete was often used to refer to a state where one's racial background is no longer considered, neither positively nor negatively. Whereas some respondents focused on the success of projects others referred to the end of affirmative action policies or the de-racialization of society. This once again underscores that empowerment means something different to everyone.

Empowering previously disadvantaged individuals and thereby transforming the industry is a long-term activity. It requires continued training, mentoring and support until they are self-sustainable. One farmer says it is a long term project requiring continued efforts because if projects are left to fend for themselves at too early a stage, they will fail and increase the overall skepticism concerning empowerment projects. Another farmer notes while being very supportive of the transformation of the wine industry, he believes that within a decade the affirmative action policies should come to an end. This because otherwise a 'reversed Apartheid' situation will start appearing.

In general however all informants are very skeptical about achieving a lot of visible progress within a generation. The institutionalized and systemic inequality in the wine industry (racial structures,

power relations, reliance on cheap labour, etc) will take many generations to fix. This is an important conclusion, shared among various actors involved in the industry (labour unions, ngo's, academics, farmers, etc.). When communicating about objectives of empowerment, this must be taken into consideration so realistic targets can be set. If unrealistic targets continue to be set (without being subsequently enforced) this will only lead to disappointment among all involved parties, not in the last place among farmers and farm workers.

6.7 Summary

This chapter started out by showing that farmers conceive empowerment both in terms of its *process* and its *pragmatics*. When it comes to pragmatics, the following five reasons have been identified as to why farmers initiate projects: 1) it is the right thing to do, 2) empowerment money is used as a cash injection, 3) outside pressure from customers, 4) government regulation, 5) marketing purposes. For each individual farmer a different mix of reasons will inform the decision whether or not, and if so, how, to implement empowering initiatives.

Heterogeneity is as much a feature of *farmers* as it is of *farm workers*. This diversity is reflected in farmers experiences with empowerment. Programs focus on various aspects affecting both the daily life (skills training, housing) and the future life of workers (business ownership, child education, mentoring). Some of these experiences have been more successful and pleasant than others. What is shared though is that many of the initiatives pursued seem to take place outside the B-BBEE framework constructed by the government.

When asked to identify worker priorities farmers proved to have a quite accurate image of the priorities of their workers. Chapter 5.4 identified the following five issues as top priority for workers: 1) increased salary, 2) enjoying the work one does, 3) availability of promotion opportunities, 4) education opportunities for their children, and, 5) owning one's own land/house. Farmers noted increased salaries, better housing (on-farm/off-farm) and the future of worker's children as what they thought were worker priorities. Their views are thus fairly accurate but interestingly no one mentioned work enjoyment as a worker priority.

The intra-group distinctions which were suggested by farmers (age, gender, see chapter 5) did indeed prove to be relevant.⁹⁵

The obstacles farmers face when (thinking of) implementing empowerment initiatives are both practical and regulatory by nature. Nonetheless, the farmers do note that a lot of positive change has

⁹⁵ Geographical origin was also mentioned by farmers but geographical data has not been a part of the survey.

taken place in recent years, despite all the difficulties. However, some defining characteristics of the wine industry have remained unchanged. Notably the continuing presence of a paternalist attitude and a distrust and uncooperative stance towards the state.

"Oh yeah, I won a prize for working in the vineyard." - Anonymous farm worker

Chapter 7 – Divergence and convergence in views on empowerment

By combining chapters 5 and 6 the views towards farm worker empowerment are brought together. Through this input major areas of divergence (§7.1) and convergence (§7.2) between farm workers and farmers are identified. The findings of this comparison are presented in §7.3, thereby answering sub-question 3: *"Which differences and convergences are there in the views towards empowerment between farm workers and farmers?"*. §7.4 includes the theory and background of chapters 3 and 4 in addressing sub-question 4: *"How can these differing views towards empowerment of farm workers be explained?"* Once this is answered, in §7.5 the main research question will be addressed *"What are the views on empowerment of farm workers in the South African wine industry."*

7.1 Differences in views on empowerment

Farm workers on five different wine farms were asked to identify their priorities regarding empowerment using a survey. These priorities have been discussed extensively in chapter 5 and will be compared with what farmers identified as their perceived farm worker priorities (§6.4). in §7.1.1 I will look at the differences in (perceived) priorities and in §7.1.2 at priority differences within the farm worker community.

7.1.1 Diverging views on farm worker priorities

Farm worker perspective

Using a priority listing in the survey the following five priorities have come forward as being most important to farm workers: 1) Increased salary, 2) Enjoying the work I do, 3) Promotion opportunities, 4) Education opportunities for my children, 5) Owning my own land/house. This ranking presents a mix of material, immaterial, short-term, long-term, personal and impersonal priorities illustrating the diversity of farm worker needs. Adding robustness to this variety are the responses collected on open-ended survey-questions concerning respondents' priorities. Here both direct and indirect, material and immaterial priorities were mentioned as a priority, as was *"knowing more about one's rights"*. The consequence of this broad variety of priorities is that it is unlikely that all priorities are not sufficiently met resulting in workers being disappointed.

Farmer perspective

Farmers also shared their thoughts on workers' priorities. This because, in line with the top-down decision making structure of the wine industry, it is the farmer who ultimately decides what to address and what not. Farmers identified increased salaries, housing and the future of their (farm workers') children as workers' priorities. According to farmers worker priorities are mainly material and direct.

All priorities identified by the farmers are present in the priorities identified by workers themselves. However, importantly, the farmers do not explicitly mention work enjoyment and promotion opportunities to be a worker priority while workers themselves identify these as their second and third priority. Work enjoyment can be a result of increased salary (feeling appreciated) and the need to increase workers' responsibilities which, according to a farmer and Paul et al., (2000) leads to empowerment. Promotion opportunities might be included in farmers' understanding of increased salary/material improvement as the one leads to another. This suggests that farmers are less aware of the priorities of workers than they themselves might think (and on which farmers partly base their actions). Farmers thus believe that workers' priorities are more material than they really are.

7.1.2 Divergence within the farm worker community

In chapter 5.4 the priorities of workers within the larger farm worker community have been analyzed along different categories.⁹⁶ The categories were: 1) employment status, 2) gender, 3) race, 4) age group, 5) education level, 6) farm level. Along all these categories different priorities have been identified from which the most important are discussed here. The biggest divergence took place along farm lines but this is unsurprising given the differences in employment conditions, farm characteristics and empowering projects at the various farms.

Worker priorities

Age turned out to be a very important category People between 26-40 have promotion as a major priority while this was considerably less important for the other age groups.⁹⁷ Another trend is that with increasing age, work enjoyment becomes more important.

⁹⁶ The differences identified on the basis of the survey are at best trends because some categories contain few responses making it hard to draw very robust conclusions.

⁹⁷ Promotion opportunities were considered to be a priority by 63,9% of the respondents within the 26-40 age group closely after increased salary which is the #1 priority.

Having experience with empowerment also proves to be important in the priorities one has. Those with empowerment experience place particular focus on owning their own land/house. Those without empowerment experience have, increased salary as their top priority followed by enjoying the work they do. Enjoying the work one does is not listed in the top 5 priorities of those who have empowerment experience.

Worker perceptions

The second part of the survey measured how strongly workers (dis)agreed with a list of 29 statements (see appendix 2). The same categories were used to see which statements led to significant differences within the farm worker community (§5.6).

Looking at employment status resulted in seven significant differences. Permanent workers were happier in general and with working on a farm, less inclined to look for off-farm employment and felt more empowered than temporary workers. Furthermore, permanent employees felt more confident that they could have access to external funds. Temporary workers on the other hand (understandably) attached more importance to job security and were more confident in having sufficient skills to find off-farm employment. For permanent workers the (empowerment) prospects are somewhat positive. At the same time non-permanent workers' employment situation is likely to get more precarious. This finding is supported by the perceptions these both groups of workers have expressed throughout the survey. This outcome can be understood through a needs-based approach. Permanent workers see their needs satisfied to a greater extent making them feel more empowered than non-permanent workers (Maslow, 1943; Alderfer, 1969).

Considering race as a distinguishing category led to significant differences on ten statements. Coloured respondents, more than black people, displayed confidence in being able to access bank loans under reasonable conditions and attached more value to having good job security. Furthermore, coloured respondents had more confidence in having sufficient skills to find off-farm employment, find the work they do more important to themselves and attached greater value to having promotion opportunities. Black people were less confident in that they had sufficient skills to do their work well and attached less value to having access to information sources outside the farm. Having group representation is more important to coloured respondents who also consider it more likely that their children would benefit more from empowerment than they themselves. Lastly, coloured workers have the impression that living off the farm will empower them while black people disagree. In general, coloured workers seem to have a more positive attitude towards the given statements than black people who responded. The explanation for these differences is complicated

but it might have to do with the Western Cape being a province where the position of coloured workers is better compared to the position of black people (Western, 2001).

Age also proved to be an important distinguishing ground. Respondents under 26 are less happy than older respondents and aspire to off-farm employment more strongly. These young respondents also feel less empowered now compared to 5 years ago while older respondents *feel* more empowered. Workers younger than 26 are more unhappy now than 5 years ago while older workers indicate being more happy. Three additional significant differences exist between those aged 25 or younger and those aged 40+. Respondents younger than 26 want their children to work on a farm less compared to workers above 40. The latter have more confidence current on-farm developments being beneficial to them in the future and they enjoy their work more. When looking at differences between those aged 26-40 and those of 40+ the only significant difference is that the older respondents view current on-farm developments more positively than those aged 26-40. The trend is that older workers in general have a (more) positive attitude towards farm life and empowerment while young workers are (more) negative and eager to leave the farm. An explanation could be that workers who have been living in poor conditions for a long time, the older respondents, have gotten used to this and aspire less change (Maslow, 1943, p. 386; Alderfer, 1969, p. 152). Moreover, since older respondents have been worker longer in farming their occupational aspirations have been narrowed to the extent that they consider their current work fitting for them (Gottfredson, 1981, p. 549). Younger respondents who have more (recent) exposure to other occupations and who have a different social environment do not, in general, believe farm work holds a future for them.

Gender, mentioned by industry experts, workers and existing literature (Barrientos et al., 2000) as an important distinguishing category only resulted in two significant differences. Women seem more eager than men to seek off-farm employment and attach greater value to having access to information from outside the farm. The stronger focus of women towards (the future of) their children and the bad conditions of farm labour might be the reason for this.

Education is hardly a relevant ground when it comes to attitudes towards the given statements. Respondents with more than 7 years of education only differ significantly from those with less than 7 years of education in regard to desiring off-farm employment: more educated respondents find this more important.

Distinguishing grounds according to farmers

Some farmers considered the farm worker community to be largely homogenous in regard to their empowerment priorities. Others disagreed and suggested that relevant categories could be found

with age, gender, and one's geographical/racial background.⁹⁸ Age has proven to be very relevant when it comes to workers priorities and perceptions. Gender, albeit being responsible for some differences in priorities, did not seem to be very relevant in the way they responded to the various statements except for the two mentioned above. Gender was suggested to be a distinguishing factor for people's priorities towards empowerment, whereby men have a more material orientation while women focus on their children. As this was rather frequently suggested there might be more to this than the survey results suggest.⁹⁹ Employment status was never mentioned as a distinguishing ground by farmers themselves while interviews with industry experts suggested this was important due to the precariousness of temporary workers' situation. The findings in this thesis show employment status to be important and are thus in line with findings in previous studies (Ewert & du Toit, 2005; Kritzinger et al., 2004).

7.1.3 Who will be empowered?

A core debate within affirmative action is the question of who will be empowered and what empowerment as a concept entails. Workers expressed that both they themselves and their children will, and should, benefit. This view is supported by the agreement with statements enquiring whether workers feel more empowered now than they did 5 years ago (overall respondents agree and permanently employed workers agree most strongly with this statement). They also believe their children will benefit more from empowerment than they themselves do (respondents in all categories agreed to this statement but coloured respondents agreed particularly strongly).

Farmers and industry experts on the other hand point out the limitations to empowerment. They focus on the difficulty of empowering people with little education and skills. Some note that there are programs tailored to everyone's capacity, such as programs aimed at informing workers about finances/banking and health. It is however unsure whether or not workers *perceive* these programs as empowering or just as educational programs. In addition, farmers argue that those most likely to qualify for empowerment projects are those already relatively empowered. This is a major critique on affirmative action in general (Sabbagh, 2004, p. 22). The limited opportunities for promotion within the company adds to the limitations of who will be empowered. Farmers therefore focus on educating children of workers (which is in line with workers expecting their children to benefit more than they do).

⁹⁸ Geographical background as a variable was not included in the survey and has thus not been measured. Race, has been measured and is to some degree related to geographical backgrounds.

⁹⁹ Gender-specific needs are addressed in (Barrientos et al., 2000) supporting the idea that gender might be *more* relevant than discussed here.

When workers talk about empowerment this is mainly from an *individual* perspective. Their responses concern their daily needs, the needs of their children and the way they expect to benefit from empowerment. This can be through training, increased salary, shareholding (building up something for the future), housing, etc. Farmers approach empowerment from a '*birds-eye*' view (see chapter 6.1). They recognize that empowerment will not bring large-scale improvement in the lives of many. Especially those workers at the lowest end of the farm hierarchy will, aside from perhaps minimal wage increases and life skills training, remain where they are now (see also §6.4.3). In essence, workers have high expectations about who will be empowered (many people) while farmers, assessing the opportunities in their company and industry as a whole, say that only a few people will be empowered. Those with the least capabilities are likely to miss the empowerment boat. The high expectations of empowerment which were raised after the end of Apartheid will remain little more than a distant dream for most farm workers.

7.2 Convergence

For all the differences that exist, convergence also takes place in some areas. Both farm workers and farmers give increased salaries for farm workers as the top priority. Given the dire financial situation of many farm workers – and farmers being responsible for paying these salaries – it is unsurprising that farmers also consider this to be a worker priority. Increased salary would directly help in satisfying workers' physiological/existence needs to a greater extent. These are the needs most important to people (Maslow, 1943; Alderfer, 1969) and it is therefore unsurprising that increased salary is such a priority.

Further convergence is found when it comes to children. Educational opportunities for children are a top priority for both workers and farmers. Other items such as owning land or a house have also been attributed to being in the child's interest. Houses/land which are individually owned can be passed on to a child while it is unsure if the child will be allowed to stay on the farm after a parent passes away or stops working there. Farmers realize the limitations to empowerment and rather focus on giving young people the basic tools necessary (education) to carve out a better life. The effect of this on children is of course dependent on many more factors but at least both farm workers and farmers stand united in giving priority to education, thereby improving chances in life for children. Through this, workers esteem and relatedness needs are increasingly satisfied.

Another idea where opinions of farm workers and farmers converge is that empowerment comes with increased responsibility for workers. This has been expressed in focus group discussions and

interviews and is presented as both a consequence of, and a precondition for, empowerment (Paul et al., 2000).

7.3 Explaining the differences and convergence

After a basic overview of the differences in priorities, these will be explained using the theoretical framework from chapter 3 and the context to empowerment in South Africa's wine industry provided in chapter 4. Through this the final sub-question can be answered: *"How can these differences in the expectations and perceptions of empowerment of farm workers be explained?"*.

Temporary - permanent workers' priorities

Workers self-identify their priorities as both material and immaterial whereby material benefits have the upper hand but only slightly. Especially notable is the priority workers attach to enjoying the work they do. This is particularly important for permanent employees. They are likely to realize that they will continue to work on the farm for the foreseeable future. Temporary workers on the other hand might still consider farm labour to be something temporary. Temporary workers are also more inclined to seek off-farm employment and are more confident that their skills are valuable outside the farm environment. The different weight accorded to work enjoyment can be explained in multiple ways. One way to understand this is through the fulfillment of needs, a second is through one's outlook on the future.

When using a needs perspective, Maslow's and Alderfer's approaches are very valuable. Temporary workers are in a more precarious situation. They face more risk of being exploited and due to the temporary nature of their employment it is hard for them to devote attention to long term objectives. Due to this, they direct considerable attention to what Maslow identifies as the physiological and safety needs (or existence needs according to Alderfer (1969)). The purely physiological needs can be (partly) accounted for through increasing salaries. Safety needs however are directly related to job security and other provisions such as security of tenure and medical insurance. Both these needs are to a greater extent satisfied for permanent workers than for temporary workers. Permanent workers have job security and frequently also security of tenure and (some) medical insurance giving them more room to desire other needs among which work enjoyment can be placed. Work enjoyment is very broad and can be improved in multiple ways. Fair financial compensation is one part because it makes people view themselves – and their work – as valuable. It also contains elements of responsibility whereby work enjoyment is increased if workers feel they are more in control over their work and have some decision making freedom. Work

enjoyment thus closely correlates to the 'power' and 'rewards' components identified by Paul *et al.* (2000). Temporary workers have different needs and therefore can accord less priority to the enjoyment of work.

When approaching the importance attached to work enjoyment from a future oriented perspective different explanation arises. Temporary workers are more eager to work outside the farm than permanent employees and might consider farm work as something of temporary nature. When work is seen as temporary, people are more willing to accept less enjoyable work. Permanent workers who know their (foreseeable) future involves farm labour want to make the best of it. Therefore, they want their work to be as enjoyable as possible. In addition, permanent workers go through a process of compromising on their aspirations and preferences to a level where they consider their farm work to be fitting with their occupational aspirations. For work to be considered to fit, the work must also be enjoyable, at least to some extent.

Farmers do not explicitly recognize work enjoyment as a priority which can also be for multiple reasons. Firstly, farmers seem to focus on immediate and material improvements (increased salary, housing) while work enjoyment is very subjective and immaterial. Work enjoyment however can be implicitly embedded in increased salary. A transfer of responsibilities, identified by farmers as important also leads to greater work enjoyment (Paul *et al.*, 2000). The immaterial, long term priority recognized by farmers is the education of children. A second possible explanation is that farmers do not consider "work enjoyment" to be an distinguishable empowerment component but rather see it as the outcome of all direct actions they take to improve the situation of farm workers and their children'.

Age related priorities

The trend is that older respondents are more satisfied with the work they do, and are happier on the farm than younger respondents. Younger respondents are more ambitious and eager to find off-farm employment. These findings are in line with what farmers predicted. Farmers suggested that farming is particularly unpopular among young people for various reasons; the low salaries, hard work and low social status accorded to it all play a role in this unpopularity (White, 2012). Farmers explain that older workers have grown accustomed to their situation and that efforts to empower them yield little results. This is in line with what Gottfredson (1981) posits about occupational aspirations. The low prestige accorded to farm labour leads to a bad occupational image consequently leading people to aspire to employment in other professions. This explains why youth does not want to work in agriculture and thereby why they are less happy when they do work on a farm. Older workers believe they have fewer opportunities for alternative employment. These (perceived) barriers in turn

influence workers' perceptions of farm labour. They (unconsciously) make compromises to the point that farm work is their desired work because they believe it is what they can do (well). Complementing this process of compromising is the reduction of ambitions that take place when a person's growth is limited/stagnant for an extended period of time. In this case they will become satisfied if even their most basic needs are met.¹⁰⁰ Given that most older workers also have permanent employment contracts their physiological and safety/existence needs are met to a greater extent. Workers and farmers alike thus seem to share similar visions in this regard.

Worker responsibility

Independently from each other both workers and farmers in focus group discussions and interviews considered a transfer of responsibility to the workers as an essential component of empowerment. This responsibility should concern the decision making processes that come with their function. For workers having more responsibility is a sign of respect for their individual capabilities. It signifies that the farmer trusts them and it is then up to the worker to show that this trust is deserved. This helps to empower workers because it boosts their self-esteem. Paul et al. (2000) identify four components for worker empowerment: information, knowledge, power, and rewards. Increasing worker responsibility has a direct impact on the first three. Workers will (need to) become more informed about the processes taking place on the farm to handle their new responsibilities well. This means their knowledge of the business, and how to run it/it is run, must be increased, improving workers' 'technical skills'.

New powers are vested in the worker, the power to make individual decisions. Indirectly this leads to several rewards. One is that more responsibility, either in the short or long term, usually leads to increased financial compensation. A second effect is that workers will receive more recognition adding to the fulfillment of their need for *love*, *esteem* and *self-actualization* (Maslow, 1943) or *relatedness* and *growth* (Alderfer, 1969). When such needs are being satisfied to a greater extent it also increases the *work enjoyment* workers have.¹⁰¹

For a farmer it is important to increase responsibility of workers because it allows their attention to be devoted to areas other than supervision. The transfer of responsibility is however a difficult one due to the entrenched paternalism within the wine farming industry. Too often, after workers are

¹⁰⁰ Maslow (1943): physiological and safety needs, Alderfer (1969): existence needs

¹⁰¹ Work enjoyment is not exclusively formed by the satisfaction of needs and having responsibility. One also has to genuinely feel good about their work, have nice colleagues, and feel a passion for this (which is a part of the self-actualization need described by Maslow). However, being respected for who you are and what you can do in the work environment contribute greatly to enjoying one's work.

granted some responsibility and make a mistake, the farmer falls back into doing things the way they are used to. The realization that more responsibility needs to be transferred however is a step in the right direction.

7.4 What does this say about views towards empowerment?

In summation we can say that views from farm workers and farmers differ on multiple aspects and converge on others. The data from chapters 5 and 6 show that workers accord more importance to immaterial priorities than farmers think or make explicit. When it comes to differences within the farm worker community farmers recognize that age is important when it comes to one's priorities. In this regard their ideas that older workers are less ambitious and that farm labour is very unpopular among the younger workers is supported by the views elicited among the farm workers. Farmers also suggested workers' geographical origin might influence their priorities. This was not directly measured. Race however proved to be important and this is, somewhat related to the geographical origin, Farmers however did not suggest employment status as a relevant distinguishing factor, but it is likely that they know about this. Farmers are perfectly aware of the precarious situation in which temporary/casual workers find themselves (and responsible for it). It is also likely that farmers are aware of the different needs of temporary workers compared to permanent workers. The analysis in chapter 5 shows that the farm worker community is not as homogenous as often presented. Convergence of views towards empowerment is found in both parties recognizing the priority of increasing salaries, the future of workers' children and the need for a transfer of responsibility from the farmer to the workers. Farmers thus do - to a certain extent - recognize the differences present within the farm worker community. This might in part be attributed to farm workers approaching empowerment from an individual perspective while farmers, due to their position, have more of a birds-eye view. The convergence on other aspects can be attributed to farmers knowing their workers relatively well and realizing their situation is in need of improvement.

7.5 Concluding: What are the views towards empowerment of farm workers?

Everything in this thesis thus far served to shed light on the views on the empowerment of farm workers in the wine industry around Stellenbosch, South Africa. Each chapter represents a piece in the puzzle around the question *"What are the views on the empowerment of farm workers in the South African wine industry?"* Now that all pieces are in place, the puzzle can be completed.

The history of South Africa's wine industry plays a vital role in shaping contemporary empowerment. During the 3.5 centuries since the first vines were planted, a paternalistic culture has been created whereby farmers wield great power over their workers. There were some changes in the way labour relations between workers and farmers have been organized: abolition of slavery, Master and Servants Ordinance, labour laws after the ending of Apartheid and several other initiatives like the Rural Foundation, (B-B)BEE, WIETA. However the relations seem not to have fundamentally changed. The racial hierarchies in the industry are decreasing slowly, even though ownership remains firmly in white hands. Current initiatives, be they at a farm or industry level, do not fundamentally challenge the paternalism that dictates labour relations on (wine) farms. Moreover, the industry largely continues to depend on cheap and unskilled labour whereby workers who lack the capabilities to grow continue to be marginalized. There are however forces that drive the industry towards change. Farm relations are increasingly subject to regulation, scrutiny from customers and consumers, and demands for more skilled workers certainly drives the industry towards transformation. The pace at which this transformation takes place however is very limited, as is the scope. The demographics of South Africa with sky-high unemployment harm farm workers' bargaining power and through that put a brake on the pace of transformation. The limited state capacity to enforce contemporary regulation also plays an important role, as does the regulation itself which is too often unclear and due to the limited mandate few farms need to comply fully. For farm workers this means that while some new opportunities opened up their struggles remain high and their ability to influence the transformation remains limited.

Farmers by and large want the government to stay out of their business and remain kings of their respective farms (unless government funds can be used to e.g. prevent bankruptcy). Affirmative action as stipulated by the B-BBEE framework therefore does not seem to be desired by farmers, not in the last place due to the costs and bureaucratic processes involved. Moreover, farmers are the ones paying the bills so it is not surprising that they want control over what happens. At the same time, there is a genuine desire to empower their farm workers. This for a multitude of reasons, 'doing the right' thing being one of them. The exact combination and weight given to various reasons differ from farmer to farmer. It is however unlikely that without substantial pressure quick and far reaching progress will be made if the initiative for transformation remains with the farmer.

The current *soft empowerment* is too ineffective to create large-scale transformation. B-BBEE is more of a target and goal than a minimum requirement for change. Workers however expect large scale transformation. After the transition to democracy, hopes and expectations have been created and the disillusionment about the changes that have taken place is rife as illustrated by the labour unrest in late 2012/early 2013 in the fruit farming sector. Workers continue to live life at very low levels and

in many ways continue to depend on the farmer's benevolence, strengthening the paternalistic relations between them. By looking at the priorities workers have, it has become more clear what this transformation should include from their perspective. A salary increase is of paramount importance for workers to be better able to meet their needs. Another material priority is ownership of land or a house. Material benefits are however not the only priority workers have. Enjoying the work they do, educational opportunities for their children and promotion opportunities are also considered by farm workers themselves to be of great importance. As such, their view of empowerment includes both material and immaterial benefits, both for the short and the long term. Their priorities cover all different types of needs as identified by Maslow (1943) and Alderfer (1969) showing that farm workers needs are very diverse. Moreover, both farm workers and farmers view a transfer of responsibility as important. Farmers recognize some of the priorities workers have (increased salaries, ownership of land/a house and educational opportunities for workers' children) and underwrite the importance of a transfer of responsibility. The value workers attach to enjoying their work is not always explicitly recognized nor is their ambition to be promoted. These two elements might however be known by farmers and be bundled together with other priorities they identify such as an increase of workers' salary. The important lesson to draw from this is that workers' situation can be considerably improved by striving to improve their work enjoyment and responsibility. This could be done in various ways and depends on the characteristics of the farm. In general however it would be empowering to continue and expand mentoring programs that currently exist. When a worker is mentored by a farmer and slowly receives more responsibility this would help. Important however is that there must be room for mistakes which should rather serve as a lesson than as a reason not to continue with the transfer of responsibility as is often the case now. Moreover, simply talking with the workers, listening to them and complimenting them on the work they do – showing appreciation – would help greatly (and adds to the satisfaction of relatedness needs). Farmers tend to be extremely busy and talking to workers (while the farmer thinks s/he knows everything) might not fit with the paternalist nature of the industry but it provides a cheap and effective way to make workers feel more empowered.

Focusing on work enjoyment and responsibility might ease the financial burden on farmers in economically difficult times. Farmers do know the farm worker community is not homogenous, yet they are not necessarily sensitive to where differences occur. In this thesis age, racial background and employment status have been identified as major grounds for different priorities and perceptions of empowerment. Other categories such as gender and the farm one works on also showed to be relevant when it came to determining one's view of empowerment. This suggests that

considerable freedom should remain with the farmer to design and implement an empowerment strategy, together with the workers, for that particular farm.

When designing and implementing empowerment projects attention should be paid not only to the different priorities of workers but also to their approach towards empowerment. Farm workers' to empowerment approach is based on their individual situation and all expect to benefit from empowerment in one way or another. Farmers view empowerment more as a long-time process and their birds-eye view of what is happening might lead to overlooking individual expectations. It is therefore imperative to clearly communicate the (limitations of the) empowering processes that take place on a farm. By doing so, workers will understand better what goes on and why this happens, preventing disillusionment. Farmers on the other hand will get the appropriate credit for their initiatives as projects will be acknowledged as empowerment projects by the workers.

The current top-down approach whereby the farmer (almost) single-handedly decides upon what happens on the farm – an inherent consequence of the ever-lasting paternalism – needs to change. Farmers continue to hold the (financial) power, have more knowledge of how to run their business and are in general best placed to make strategic decisions. However, more account must be given to incorporate workers' views on empowerment. Concluding it can be said that this thesis has illustrated that the views of stakeholders, and especially the farm workers and farmers, differ at certain points and converge on others. Most importantly though it has shown that all stakeholders look favorably towards empowerment thereby providing the building blocks on which future transformation can be built.

"If you enjoy yourself, enjoy your work and be positive you are empowered already!"
- *Anonymous farm worker*

Chapter 8 – Conclusions and discussion

This final chapter represents the apex of this thesis. Here the general conclusions and a discussion of empowerment and affirmative action will be shared. After that I will continue by providing some recommendations for future research; these recommendations are based on ideas and problems touched upon in this research.

8.1 General conclusions

Speaking with farm workers, instead of speaking about them, has been a primary objective of this thesis. By doing so, this research differs from most other empowerment-related research. There is an abundance of research on affirmative action and empowerment in the South African wine industry. Various perspectives can be taken, like the perspective of business (Arya & Bassi, 2009; McEwan & Bek, 2009; Ponte et al., 2007), sociology (du Toit & Ewert, 2002; du Toit et al., 2008; Ewert & du Toit, 2005) and class/elite formation (Freund, 2007; Nattrass, 2013; Southall, 2006b; Terreblanche, 2002). Very few publications however have actually sought to bring the perspective or experiences of those who are (to be) empowered (Janssens, Sefoko, v., et al., 2006; Kritzinger et al., 2004; Sefoko et al., 2007).

Before proceeding to the conclusions a few words of attention must be given. While it is important to recognize that the design of this research poses limitations to the extrapolation of the results still some general conclusions can be presented. These limitations exist due to the way in which participating farms have been selected (using a convenience sample). It is safe to assume that the farms which participated are 'above average' in terms of labour conditions and the progressive mindset of farmers. If the labour conditions would be poor and the farmer conservative it is unlikely that I would have been granted access. Moreover, Stellenbosch is a relatively well off farming area which gives farms more funds to invest in empowerment. The great (international) exposure of Stellenbosch also makes it more difficult for farmers not to improve labour conditions. Lastly, wine farm workers are generally speaking better off than workers in other farming sectors. As a result, the outcomes of this thesis might be positively skewed and should not be mistaken as being representative of the entire South African wine industry, let alone South Africa's entire agricultural industry.

The methodology (semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions) however plays an important role in mitigating concerns over the positively skewed survey findings. Using these qualitative methods the reasoning behind responses to the survey is brought forward. This means that besides simply reporting that workers find work enjoyment important it can also be reported *why* they find this important. Of course, the conclusions of this thesis would have been more robust when a random sample of farms would have been possible and more surveys would have been collected. However, using interviews with industry experts, it was still possible to present arguments that are not purely restricted to the participating farms. As such, the combination of methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative complement each other and add robustness to this exploratory study. Notwithstanding these reservations, interesting things can be said about farm workers' priorities and perceptions of empowerment:

1. The first important conclusion to draw is that the *farm worker community is heterogeneous*, an often overlooked aspect in many studies. Chapter 5 has shown that there are many, significant, differences within this community. Farm workers' needs are a diverse mix leading to a mix of priorities relating to material, immaterial, short-term, long-term, personal and impersonal objectives. Those needs cover all different types of needs as identified by Maslow (1943), Alderfer (1969) and Paul et al., (2000). The priorities arising from those needs depend on many factors such as employment conditions of workers, the farm they work on, the community in which they live, their employment status, age, racial background, etc. All these variables play an important role in the way farm workers perceive empowerment and their current situation. As such I argue that it is often unwarranted to simply talk about 'priorities of farm workers' as if they were a homogenous entity. Having said so ...
2. Farm workers – asked about empowerment – consider *increased salary, work enjoyment, promotion opportunities, education opportunities for their children* and *owning their own land/house* to be the most important priorities.
3. Empowerment projects initiated by farmers overlook '*work enjoyment*' as important priority to farm workers.
4. Farmers engage in empowerment projects for a multitude of reasons. 'Doing the right thing' is but one; cash injections, outside pressure, government pressure/regulation and marketing are others.
5. Farmers, more so than farm workers, are aware of the *limitations to empowerment*, both in scope and in speed. These limitations are partly the consequence of both practical and regulatory obstacles.

6. Due to the varied priorities and expectations of farm workers and the (structural) limitations of empowerment, farm workers to a large extent and farmers to a smaller extent will become *disappointed by the empowerment scope and speed*.
7. The empowerment projects that do take place, are *beneficial to some* and *not beneficial* or even *harmful* to others. In essence, this thesis thus agrees with Ewert and du Toit (2005) who conclude that empowerment creates winners – those with a permanent contract – and losers – the rest; the non-permanent workers might very well be ‘disempowered’ by current developments; their already precarious position worsens – in comparison with permanent workers - due to exploitative labour brokers, a lack of investment in their skills, no security of tenure/employment, etc. This might especially be true at a global level and at a micro-level for sub-groups, such as non-permanent workers or women. There are however also groups of farm workers that feel more empowered and view the empowerment future in a positive light. This is a relevant conclusion because if farm workers feel they are and will be better off, it shows there is a positive side to current empowerment.

Whereas the above conclusions mainly relate to farm workers in the wine industry, this thesis also allows the making of a few general remarks about empowerment in South Africa. Primarily the findings suggests that disillusionment with empowerment will (continue to) be rife in the entire country. There are simply not sufficient opportunities to empower everyone. Especially South Africa’s army of unemployed and low/uneducated people are unlikely to see their hopes for a new, more equal, society materialize, despite the promises made after the ending of Apartheid. Moreover this thesis shows that people’s needs and aspirations vary widely. This is likely to be also the case in other sectors suggesting that the current approach where different targets exist for different sectors of the economy is a good one. The challenge however will be to find the right balance between providing a clear framework with freedom of implementation to address the needs of workers in those particular sectors. Lastly, the findings suggest that South Africa(’s government) must find ways to protect the most vulnerable within society and do more to uplift them.

8.2 Discussing empowerment and affirmative action

So far the views of farm workers and farmers towards empowerment have been discussed. Empowerment however also has a broader, socio-economic importance: the pursuit of breaking down existing hierarchies and promoting dehierarchization. The objective of B-BBEE is “*to advance economic transformation and enhance the economic participation of black people in the South*

*African economy.*¹⁰² This objective at first hand seems purely focused on the economic aspects but this transformation inherently requires – and implies – dehierarchization of both economic and social relations; it requires addressing the structural problems leading to the economic inequality.

8.2.1 The need for empowerment

Almost twenty years ago a majority government took power in South Africa, but the legal equality that came with it has not yet led to substantial equality in the wine industry (or the country for that matter). On the contrary, inequality increased. In 1995 South Africa's GINI coefficient was 56.6 in 2009 this had risen to 63.1 (World Bank, 2013). The expectations of transformation that were created by this transition to democracy have not been met leading to disillusionment in all parts of the country, including agriculture and mining.¹⁰³ Today, the wine industry continues to be dominated by white farmers and mostly white capital. The ownership of farms continues to rest largely in white hands. This is partly a result of the 'family farms' and partly due to other reasons, such as the closed nature of the industry and high startup/entry costs. This makes it hard for new entrants to secure a place in the wine industry. An obstacle, especially for previously disadvantaged people, is the capital required to start a new farm or buy an existing farm. Notable 'empowerment cases' such as that of KWV (Williams, 2005) do not represent a structural transformation of the industry as a whole as they only affect a very limited number of workers, do not challenge the power relations in the industry and do not increase the independence/mobility of workers. Existing structures have shown to be unwilling or unable to achieve large scale transformation and it is unlikely that B-BBEE, as it stands currently, will foster meaningful empowerment (Ponte et al., 2007) in the wine industry. The lack of transformation is particularly harmful to the whole Western Cape society. This is because the wine industry is responsible for a lot of employment in the Western Cape and therefore (and lack of) transformation impacts the entire society.

The outcomes of farm workers' perceptions of empowerment show that the youth working on farms are skeptical about the prospects which empowerment offers to them. With unemployment and inequality growing constantly, it is likely that this negative outlook is shared more broadly by South African youth in general.

¹⁰² http://www.thedti.gov.za/economic_empowerment/bee.jsp retrieved on 07 July 2013.

¹⁰³ Example of what this disillusionment and frustration over the lack of transformation can lead to are the labour unrest in the Western Cape agricultural sector as described in chapter 4 and the miners' strike in Marikana.

Hard(er) approaches

This lack of substantial transformation can to a certain extent be attributed to the policy environment created by B-BBEE, where uncertainty reigns and applicability and enforceability are too limited. Consequently, one can argue that a harder, more direct and intrusive approach to empowerment should be pursued. Stricter decision making preferences would then need to be formulated and the criteria for compliance with the B-BBEE framework need to become more inclusive. This might yield quick gains and/or visible results in terms of employment equity and (land) ownership. The latter could be achieved by buying out white farmers who want to retire/quit. The possibilities for such visible progress however are limited and rather superficial since it does not address the underlying problems which are so prevalent in the industry: its paternalist culture, low education levels, low skills levels, low self-esteem, limited ambitions and general unpopularity of farming. A harder approach also offers limited direct ways to improve the work enjoyment which is so important to workers. This requires a change in the behavior and attitude of farmers: quotas and guidelines are unlikely to foster this.

Objections to a harder approach must not be taken lightly though. Firstly, there is the critiques towards hard forms of affirmative action. On a moral level, a harder form of affirmative action would move the burden back from the industry as a whole to individual farmers. Currently the industry as a whole acknowledges its moral responsibility towards those working in it. The industry tries to promote transformation, even if part of this is driven by a need for new, skilled workers. Many farmers have also acknowledged this responsibility by participating in initiatives such as WIETA or private projects. It is said that initiatives such as WIETA do not address the structural power relations leading to inequality. This critique however does not mean that, at the level of an individual farm, no transformation to the benefit of workers takes place. So while in the long run these initiatives do not structurally redress what is wrong in the industry, they do have the ability to uplift (some) farm workers, on a shorter term.

Compliance is mostly voluntary whereby the B-BBEE scorecard functions as a guideline. When the compliance criteria are redesigned in a way that more farms must comply, these guidelines will become quotas. This means that individual farmers will be harmed more than they are affected at present, because their individual decision making freedom will be limited and costs will have to be made. These funds could otherwise be directed to posts considered to be important for that specific farm. In addition, the more intrusive approach would elicit considerable objections because it enters 'the domain' of the farmer, the farm. Historically farmers have resented and subverted this kind of government intrusion and it is unlikely that it would be accepted this time, despite many farmers supporting empowerment for one reason or another. Moreover, unless substantial funds are made

available by the South African government, the bill for transformation will lie with the farmers. Whether this is just or unjust is beyond the scope of this analysis.

Concluding it can be said that harder approaches might be useful in compelling (more) farms to invest (more) in transformation, but there are considerable drawbacks. A hard approach which does not allow for flexibility at the individual farm level is unlikely to address the priorities farm workers have identified in this thesis. In the end, farm workers are the (intended) beneficiaries of empowerment and their needs should always be put first when considering (new) affirmative action policies.

Soft(er) approaches

A softer approach to empowerment, focusing on voluntary outreach and educational programs, has some advantages. It will be perceived as less intrusive while it can still address the problems within the wine industry – and therefore within the Western Cape society. These problems are characterized by paternalism and low education levels, low skills levels and low self-esteem and ambitions among farm workers. They require a long, sustained commitment to redress. Changes in these sectors are however also much less visible than e.g. ownership of farms. Consequently a softer approach might yield less public support, despite its merits. There are considerable risks to a softer approach, one of which is that some farmers might not acknowledge their responsibility towards transformation unless they are compelled to do so.¹⁰⁴ Simply assuming that all farmers will act benevolently and initiate programs for the benefit of their workers would thus be unwarranted. Another risk in a soft approach is that it gives farmers an additional tool which can be used to exert power over workers, strengthening current paternalistic practices.

A possible benefit is that softer approaches create less resentment among farmers. This allows for maximum freedom in addressing the specific issues facing individuals farms. It also seems likely that when farmers initiate projects based on their own motivation, rather than being compelled to do so, they will support the reforms more wholeheartedly. This might also have an impact on the work enjoyment experienced by workers, something a hard approach will have difficulty with to address. When a farmer supports the reforms it is likely that the environment in which these reforms take place are conducive to work enjoyment. When the farmer is antagonized due to forced reforms this is more likely to negatively affect the relations between farmer and farm workers which is

¹⁰⁴ 11% of farmers indicated to strongly oppose BEE and it is likely that more are not strongly opposed but also not eager to engage with it unless compelled (SAWC, 2007, p. 5).

detrimental to their work enjoyment and the overall situation on the farm. These benefits must however be contrasted to the probability that not everyone will voluntarily instigate changes.

Support for empowerment in the Western Cape in South Africa will depend on finding the right balance between hard and soft approaches to affirmative action.. Special care must be taken not to antagonize farmers too much as they currently pay the bill. After all, their support to empowerment policies is of paramount importance.

8.2.2 Dehierarchization

How empowerment impacts the hierarchies in the Western Cape also warrants further discussion. The current hierarchy is a racial and paternalist one, where a white farmer stands on top and non-white workers are at the bottom. Empowerment so far has been able to achieve modest gains in breaking down this racial hierarchy. There is a very modest increase in black ownership over assets/farms but at large the industry remains under white control. This is, as said, partly attributable to the large number of family owned farms; for many of these families a transfer of ownership is inconceivable. Further gains towards ownership could be made by stimulating previously disadvantaged people to take over farms that become available in a 'natural' way. This approach has its own problems (capital constraints, closed nature of the industry, etc.) but presents a path through which the traditional racial hierarchy can be changed at the highest level.

When leaving ownership of farms for what it is and when looking at employment in the higher echelons of a farm more significant gains are, and can be, made. This presents a way to, if not break down the racial hierarchy fully, decrease the extent to which race determines one's highest achievable position. As one black supervisor says *"10 years ago it would have been unimaginable to see a black or coloured guy working as assistant winemaker. Now, this is happening."* (Heuvelsig FGD, 2012). Furthermore, awards for winemaking are now being won by a black woman, Ntsiki Biyela, which further illustrates the change taking place (Gibb, 2012). She was able to study wine making through a scholarship and is now seen as a role model. At this level racial hierarchies are breaking down. People like Ntsiki Biyela are somewhat different from most farm workers in that she had no experience with farm work and became a winemaker directly after finishing university. She is therefore an 'outsider' not plagued by the harmful effects of farm jealousy and other restrictions that farm environment poses to one's empowerment. Her case however serves to illustrate that, as a result of affirmative action, racial hierarchies in the wine industry (and the country for that matter) are breaking down. Also in other functions in the industry such as administration and marketing there is now more room for non-whites. This is likely to be the result of a combination of affirmative action (such as scholarships) and a lack of skilled whites that pursue a career within the wine

industry. The fact that Ntsiki Biyela has won prizes for her wine also attacks the notion that affirmative action results in less-qualified (unmerited) people in certain positions. By winning prizes she has shown that her current position as a winemaker is based on merit, but it is certain that she would not have been where she is now if not for the scholarship she received. This kind of role model is less susceptible to the critique that B-BBEE promotes elite formation (c.f.: Southall, 2006a, 2006b; Terreblanche, 2002; Williams, 2005; Freund, 2007). It supports the idea that some people will benefit from affirmative action, even if it does not help the masses. We should however be cautious in labeling such a prize winner as an 'empowerment success story', because it is unclear to what extent her success can solely be attributed to empowerment rather than a result of 'natural developments' from an industry facing skills shortages.

Concluding, we can say that empowerment in South Africa has aided the breakdown of racial hierarchies to a limited extent. Further progress in transforming society and empowering workers in the Western Cape will however be limited in scope and speed, unless more stringent regulation is put in place and enforced. The limitations of empowerment opportunities must however also be acknowledged and made explicit to ensure none of the stakeholders becomes disillusioned. For farm workers this means that for the foreseeable future they will be part of a system in which racial hierarchies are important. This should however not inhibit efforts to satisfy farm workers' needs as these are not purely based on (racial) hierarchies.

8.2.3 Group perceptions

Affirmative action theory further highlights that by using racial characteristics to in-/exclude people from entitlements, discrimination might increase. This is because people come to be looked at as possessors of (racial) characteristics rather than as individuals (Krieger, 1998; Lowery et al., 2006; Reynolds, 1992). Looking back at the major empowerment deals that have taken place, those who benefitted most were those people who were able to position themselves skillfully on the basis of their possession of racial characteristics (du Toit et al., 2008; Williams, 2005). It is likely that harder forms of empowerment will also result in increased 'othering' in South Africa's wine industry in particular and the country in general. Farmers already resent and oppose government interference and when more intrusive approaches are taken that favour non-whites it is likely that at least some will develop a more negative attitude towards previously disadvantaged people in general. Given that fast and substantial progress without harder policies is unlikely, the possibility of increased discrimination might however have to be (temporarily) taken for granted. Furthermore, in the racialized society of contemporary South Africa there is already a considerable degree of 'othering' going on and while any increase is negative it might be unavoidable. How harder policies would

affect in-group perceptions depends so much on the policy applied, that speculating here serves no purpose.

8.2.4 Breaking tradition

The labour relations and the farm culture that have developed and dominated the wine industry for the past 3.5 centuries have never put the farm workers' interest at the forefront. Given the vast power vested within the wine industry, it is unlikely that setting the plight of farm workers as a top priority will suddenly happen. Farmers find ways to reconcile their interests with the shared need for empowerment through initiatives such as WIETA as long as it does not challenge the underlying power relations (du Toit & Ewert, 2002). Empowerment as it currently is therefore fails to meet the priorities and aspirations of the majority of workers as previously argued by du Toit (2002) and McEwan and Bek (2006). There is indeed insufficient *"meaningful change in areas that need it most (land, skills development, employment)"* (Ponte et al., 2007, p. 936). It is therefore up to the government, and perhaps other stakeholders with a genuine interest in worker empowerment, to find a way to reconcile the capitalist and paternalistic nature of the industry with workers' and farmers' interests. This thesis therefore supports the conclusion that empowerment as it exists now does not represent a decisive break with the exploitative past (du Toit, 2002; du Toit et al., 2008; Williams, 2005).

In order to really break with the past, affirmative action should focus on making workers less dependent on the farmer and more mobile. This is not done by (marginally) increasing their salary, providing better on/off-farm housing or providing skills training focused on farm labour. Farm workers and farmers alike identify these elements as important in order to improve the lives of farm workers. Addressing the material and immaterial priorities farm workers have expressed in this thesis empowers them but continue to confine farm workers to the farm environment.¹⁰⁵ When affirmative action efforts continue to be directed at improving one's ability to farm work it limits people in satisfying their need for self-actualization as farm workers – especially the young – might aspire a life outside of the farm. These efforts are thus still to a large degree prescriptive rather than liberating and it means workers remain dependent on the 'goodness' of the farmer (du Toit, 1993). This means that unless these power relations are addressed the strongest hierarchies in the wine industry will not change. As such this thesis is in line with other studies that suggest that empowerment addresses only some hierarchies while others remain strong (Leonard, 1990; McEwan & Bek, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ The priority attached to educational opportunities for children is an exception as this makes the future generation less dependent on farmers and more mobile (career wise).

Nonetheless, current efforts improve the lives of (permanent) farm workers and should receive appropriate credit. They might not fully liberate workers but certainly offer ways to empower some people within the industry. As farmers continue to carry most of the costs it is understandable that their efforts are also beneficial to them (higher skilled workers) and that they stay on top of the traditional hierarchy. Unless affirmative action becomes completely funded by the public (government) this limited scope of empowerment might be the best achievable.

8.2.5 Current developments

South Africa's inclusion in the global wine market leads to a marginalization of those at the bottom of the value chain: farms and their workers (McEwan & Bek, 2009). Current developments such as WIETA, and changes due to the wine industry's integration in a global value chain, yield some benefits but they seem to fail to address other issues of importance to farm workers. The current developments are likely to lead to disappointment among farm workers because their expectations will ultimately not be met. The question that remains is: what are viable alternatives to effectively empower farm workers and transform existing labour relations, given a background of a government that lacks the power to enforce its rules and of a labour movement that is poorly organized?

In order for any alternative to arise it is of paramount importance that an environment is created which is conducive to the relations between farmers, the state and labour representatives. Currently these relations are characterized by mutual distrust limiting constructive cooperation. The factual limitations to the empowerment of farm workers must be recognized by all parties to prevent the setting of unrealistic targets which foster expectations among farm workers that will never be met. While designing new affirmative action policies, advances in work enjoyment must be pursued. This can be achieved without large (financial) investments and have a direct positive impact on the lives of farm workers which should be the primary focus of empowerment.

Accepting that empowerment, for the near future, will be driven by an uncomfortable alliance of public and private initiatives with diverging interests, it should at least be ensured that sufficient attention is devoted to meet *the priorities* of specific sub-groups of farm workers. This is required to achieve optimal results from a farm worker perspective. The priorities farm workers have and the struggles they face every day are simply too diverse to be addressed through a single generic approach.

This thesis has illustrated the significant challenges facing 'inclusive farm worker empowerment', including casual/temporary workers. It has however also shown that for those who are already relatively empowered, new opportunities have opened up. While continuous attention must be given

to the many wrongs which are so pervasive in the industry, a constructive approach would also highlight the *positive* developments that are taking place. Lessons can be drawn from these positive developments to multiply their impact.

8.3 Recommendations

During the course of writing this thesis, countless ideas came up either because they seemed interesting or because current research did not provide an (adequate) answer to them. Hereunder are those I deem most pressing and interesting.

1. A first suggestion would be to look into the reasons *why* different groups of farm workers have certain priorities. For example, both men and women prioritize increased salary but it is unclear for what specific purposes they want to use their increased salaries. Such research could take the findings from this thesis and go one level deeper in its analysis.
2. A second suggestion is to conduct further research in *which kind* of empowerment projects have *what kind* of impact on workers' priorities and perceptions. For example: do farm workers view the impact of an empowerment project differently when it deals with ownership or the provision of educational or sports activities?
3. This thesis suggests on multiple occasions that some transformation would take place 'naturally', irrespective of empowerment. Especially the area of skills development is something that is necessary for the industry to survive, but it is not specifically geared towards empowerment. As such we can ask how empowerment initiatives contribute to the plight of farm workers over and beyond 'natural changes' or 'development' of the industry. What is the relative effect of empowerment and is natural transformation being hijacked by 'empowerment'?
4. What viable alternatives exist to effectively transform existing labour relations in an environment in which a government lacks the power to enforce its rules and which has a poorly organized labour movement?
5. It is also recommended that the relation between race and people's perceptions of empowerment is investigated further. This thesis has identified race as an important distinguishing ground but does not have sufficient appropriate data to explain these differences in attitudes. While it has raised some hypothesis about why this might be further research would be useful.
6. Future research could possibly find a relation between the empowerment initiatives undertaken by the various farms and the priorities and perceptions of empowerment farm

workers on that farm have. This would be useful for designing programs that adequately meet the needs of farm workers on individual farms.

7. The frequency with which experts voiced gender as an important determinant of priorities and perceptions related to empowerment suggests there is more to this distinction than this thesis shows. A more detailed study focusing on gender would help clarify the importance of gender.
8. How do group dynamics involving processes of support and jealousy influence the desire and chances for people to become (more) empowered?

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Appendix 1a: Interview questions for farmers

- 1) Could you tell me a little bit about yourself, the farm and your history with empowerment?
- 2) What would you describe as empowerment?
- 3) What, according to you, does empowerment mean to farm workers and what are their priorities?
- 4) Do these priorities differ per category such as how much education they had, if they are male or female, if they have children, etc?
- 5) Could you tell me where the expectations and priorities from you as the farmer and the farm workers diverge and converge?
- 6) How to go about with empowering the laborers who lack the intellectual capacities for higher positions within the farm/further education?
- 7) Do you face any obstacles when pursuing empowerment initiatives, and if so, which are these, both on a practical and regulatory level?
- 8) At an industry level, what has been changing over the past couple of years and what not?
- 9) What kind of timeframe are we looking at? Is it possible to empower the people currently working on farms or should we rather look at their children?

Appendix 1b: Interview questions for industry experts

- 1) How would you perceive the current empowerment situation of wine farm workers in the Stellenbosch region?
- 2) What do you think has changed over the past 5 years?
- 3) What hasn't changed over the past 5 years?
- 4) In which way do you think government policies such as BEE have influenced these changes?
- 5) What are the major obstacles preventing further farm worker empowerment?
- 6) In which way do farm workers and farmers differ in their expectations and perceptions of the farm worker's empowerment?
- 7) What would you describe as the main reason for farmers to (not) initiate empowerment initiatives?
- 8) What differences can we distinguish among farm workers and how does this impact the way they perceive empowerment/what their needs are.
- 9) From what my surveys tell me, many farm workers note that their colleagues are not supporting them in becoming more empowered, can you perhaps shed some light on this?
- 10) Can you explain me a little bit more about the current unrest that is taking place?
- 11) How do you think the current unrest – and demands for higher wages – affect the long term position of farm workers and their empowerment? Won't it – eventually – drive down the demand for labor as farmers try to cut their costs?

Appendix 2: Surveys

Anonymous survey concerning empowerment among workers on a farm

Introduction: This survey is meant to get an impression of what you expect from 'empowerment' and what your priorities are in this regard. Please fill in and answer this questionnaire honestly as only then it will be helpful. There are no right or wrong answers, it is solely your opinion that I am interested in. The questionnaire is anonymous to safeguard your opinions.

General questions: (circle your answer or write it in the question box)

1) What is your employment status? [Casual/Seasonal/Permanent]	2) What is your function on the farm is?:
3) Do you live on the farm: [Yes/No]	4) Do you want to live on the farm?: [Yes/No]
5) Gender: [Male/Female]	6) What is your age?
7) Marital status: [Single/Engaged/Married/Divorced]	8) How many years of education have you completed?:
9) Do you have children? And if so, how many: [Yes/No]	10) Do you have experience with empowerment projects?: [Yes/No]
11) Race: [African/Colored]	12) Have you been raised as a farm worker: [Yes/No]
13) For how many years have you worked on farms in total:	14) Did your parents also work on farms?: [Yes/No]

1) What does empowerment mean to you?

2) Please write down **your personal** top 3 priorities in regard to empowerment:

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

3) **Instructions:** Please **circle** the 5 items which are the **most important** to you. There are no good or bad answers, nothing is 'right' or 'wrong'. Please do not answer anything that you might think I want to hear, I want to hear your honest (anonymous) opinion.

1) Getting a loan to buy my own house	2) Increased salary	3) Promotion opportunities
4) Information on empowerment opportunities	5) Being represented as a group	6) Pension
7) Owning my own land/house	8) Health care	9) Having access to loans
10) Enjoying the work I do	11) Training/educational opportunities	12) Counseling/advice from outside the farm
13) Working together as a group	14) Direct financial and other benefits	15) Owning shares in a business/farm
16) Life skills training	17) Having access to funds to pay school costs for children	18) Having job security
19) Pride in my work	20) Appreciation from others	21) A clear way of expressing grievances
22) Education opportunities for my children	23) Leisure activities	24) Sufficient food

4) Are there any items in the previous list which you **do not** consider to be part of empowerment? (the item numbers):

- 5) Please read the following questions carefully and tick the box that most closely reflects what you think. On the scale box 1 means you **totally disagree** with what is asked, box 2 means you **disagree**, box 3 means you are **neutral**, box 4 means you **agree** and box 5 means that you **totally agree**.

Totally disagree/disagree/neutral/agree/totally agree

Question:	1	2	3	4	5
1) I am happy with working on a farm.					
2) If possible I would seek non-farm employment.					
3) I would like my children to work on a farm.					
4) I now feel more empowered compared 5 years ago.					
5) I am happier as a farm worker now than I was 5 years ago.					
6) I believe that the developments that take place on the farm now will also be for my (future) benefit.					
7) It is possible to get a loan from a bank under reasonable conditions.					
8) I have access to other funds than from the bank (e.g. through family, friends etc.).					
9) Getting loans for personal purchases is important to me.					
10) Without increased salary I will not be empowered.					
11) I like the work I do.					
12) It is crucial to me that I have good job security.					
13) I have enough skills to get a equal or better job outside the farm.					
14) The work I do is very important to me.					
15) I find it important that I can make promotion within the company.					
16) I have the skills to do my job well.					
17) Having the opportunity to learn new job skills empowers me.					
18) I am well informed about the empowerment opportunities I have.					
19) My colleagues support me in becoming (more) empowered.					
20) Having access to people outside of the farm for information and support is important to me.					
21) Being represented as a group with other workers is important to me.					
22) I am willing to wait a few years before I see the benefits of empowerment.					
23) Empowerment should improve my day-to-day situation right now.					
24) My children will benefit more from empowerment than I do.					
25) Owning part of a farm or business is essential to me feeling empowered.					
26) Living off the farm will empower me.					
27) Having access to leisure activities (e.g. a sports field) is empowering.					
28) Receiving training in life skills is important to me.					
29) It is important to me that there is a role model on the farm.					

Anonieme vraelys oor bemagtiging onder plaaswerkers

Inleiding: Hierdie opname word gedoen om te bepaal wat jy verwag onder 'bemagtiging' en watter eienskappe hiervan vir jou die belangrikste is. Vul asseblief die vraelys so eerlik as moontlik in, sodat ons kan verstaan hoe jy voel. Dit sal maak dat ek jou antwoord vir navorsing kan gebruik. Daar is geen regte of verkeerde antwoord nie, ek is slegs geïnteresseerd in jou opinie. Die vraelys is anoniem en niemand sal weet wat jy spesifiek geantwoord het nie.

Algemene vrae: (Omkring jou antwoord of skryf jou antwoord in die blokkie se openinige)

1) Wat is jou werkstatus? [Doen los werk/Tydelik aangestel/Permanent aangestel]	2) Wat behels u werk op die plaas?
3) Bly u op die plaas? [Ja/Nee]	4) Wil u bly op die plaas? [Ja/Nee]
5) Geslag: [Manlik/Vroulik]	6) Hoe oud is u?
7) Huwelikstatus [Enkelopend/Verloof/Getroud/Geskei]	8) Hoeveel jaar van skool(onderwys) het u voltooi?
9) Het u kinders? [Ja/Nee] Indien ja, hoeveel?	10) Het u enige ervaring met bemagtigingsprojekte? [Ja/Nee]
11) Ras: [Kleurling/Swart]	12) Is u grootgemaak as 'n plaaswerker? [Ja/Nee]
13) Hoeveel jaar werk u al in totaal op die plaas?	14) Het u ouers ook op plase gewerk? [Ja/Nee]

1) Wat beteken die term 'bemagtiging' vir jou?

2) Skryf asseblief neer watter 3 eienskappe van bemagtiging vir **jou** die belangrikste is:

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

3) Instruksies: Omkring asseblief die 5 items in die onderstaande tabel, wat vir jou die belangrikste is. Moet asseblief nie neerskryf wat jy dink ek sou wou hoor nie: daar is geen regte of verkeerde antwoord nie, ek stel net belang in jou eie opinie (anoniem).

1) Verkryging van 'n lening om my eie huis te kan koop	2) Salarisverhoging	3) Bevorderingsgeleenthede met my werk
4) Inligting oor bemagtigingsgeleenthede	5) Om as 'n groep verteenwoordig te word	6) Pensioen
7) Besit my eie grond/huis	8) Gesondheidsdienste	9) Toegang tot 'n lening
10) Om die werk te geniet wat ek doen	11) Opleiding/ opvoedkundige (skool) geleenthede	12) Berading(ondersteuning)/ Advies van buite die plaas
13) Om as groep saam te werk	14) Direkte finansiële (geldelike) en ander voordele	15) Besit van aandele in 'n plaas of besigheid
16) Opleiding in lewensvaardighede	17) Om toegang tot skoolgelde vir julle kinders te hê	18) Werksekuriteit
19) Werkstrots	20) Dat ander mense my waardeer	21) Weet waar en hoe om klagtes aan te meld
22) Onderwys geleenthede vir my kinders (skoolgaan en meskien studeer)	23) Ontspanningsaktiwiteite	24) Genoeg kos

4) Is daar enige van die vorige 24 items wat u voel **nie** deelmaak van 'bemagtiging' nie? Indien ja, watter items?

- 5) Lees asseblief die volgende vrae aandagtig deur en merk die blokkie wat die beste pas by hoe jy voel teenoor elke stelling. Nommer **1** = stem glad nie saamstem nie, **2** = stem nie saam nie, **3** = voel neutraal, **4** = stem saam en **5** = stem volkome saam met die stelling.

Stem glad nie saam nie/ stem nie saam nie/ voel neutraal/ stem saam/ stem volkome saam

Vraag:	1	2	3	4	5
1) Ek is tevrede om te werk op 'n plaas.					
2) Indien moontlik sou ek ander werk weg van 'n plaas gesoek het.					
3) Ek sou graag wou hê dat my kinders op 'n plaas moet werk.					
4) Ek voel meer bemagtig as 5 jaar terug.					
5) Ek voel gelukkiger as plaaswerker nou as wat ek 5 jaar terug was.					
6) Ek glo dat die veranderinge wat nou op die plaas plaasvind, ook voordele vir my toekoms sal inhou.					
7) Dit is moontlik om 'n lening by 'n bank te kry onder redelike voorwaardes.					
8) Ek het toegang tot ander bankfondse (deur byvoorbeeld familie of vriende).					
9) Dit is vir my belangrik om lenings vir persoonlike gebruik te verkry.					
10) Sonder 'n verhoogde salaris, sal ek nie bemagtig word nie.					
11) Ek hou van die werk wat ek doen.					
12) Werksekuriteit is baie belangrik vir my.					
13) Ek het genoeg vaardighede om dieselfde of 'n beter werk buite die plaas te kry.					
14) Die werk wat ek doen is baie belangrik vir my.					
15) Dis vir my belangrik dat my werk bevorder kan word, binne die maatskappy waar ek werk.					
16) Ek beskik oor die vaardighede om my werk goed te kan verrig.					
17) Ek sal bemagtig word as ek die geleentheid kry om nuwe werksvaardighede aan te leer.					
18) Ek is goed ingelig oor die bemagtigings geleenthede wat daar vir my is.					
19) Ek word ondersteun deur my kollegas om meer bemagtig te word.					
20) Toegang tot mense buite die plaas wat vir my inligting kan gee of help om my te ondersteun is belangrik vir my.					
21) Om tesame met my mede-werkers as 'n groep verteenwoordig te word, is belangrik vir my.					
22) Ek is bereid om 'n paar jaar te wag voor ek die voordele van bemagtiging sien.					
23) Bemagtiging moet dadelik my huidige situasie verbeter.					
24) My kinders sal meer voordeel uit bemagtiging trek as ek.					
25) Eienaarskap van 'n deel van 'n plaas of besigheid is noodsaaklik vir my om bemagtig te voel.					
26) Om van die plaas af 'n bestaan te maak sal my laat bemagtig voel.					
27) Toegang tot ontspanningsaktiwiteite (bv. 'n sportveld) is bemagtigend.					
28) Om opleiding in lewensvaardighede te ontvang is belangrik vir my.					
29) Dit is belangrik vir my dat daar 'n rolmodel op die plaas is om na op te kyk.					

Uphononongo oluyimfihlelo olumayelana nokuxhotyiswa kwabasebenzi basefama

Intshayelelo: Olu phononongo lwenzelwe ukufumanisa uluvo olumalunga nokuba yintoni oyilindeleyo 'kuxhotyiso' kwaye ziintoni eziphambili kuwe malunga noku. Nceda ugcwalise kwaye uphendule olu xwebhu lwemibuzo ngokunyanisekileyo njengoko luyakuba luncedo kuphela xa lugcwalise ngokunyaniseka. Akukho zimpendulo zilungileyo nezingalunganga, ndimdlala kuphela kuluvo lwakho olunyanisekileyo. Olu xwebhu lwemibuzo luyimfihlelo ukukhusela izimvo zakho.

Imibuzo jikelele: (rhangqela impendulo yakho okanye uyibhale kwibhokisi yombuzo)

1) Sithini isimo somsebenzi wakho? [Ngowethutyana/Ngowamaxesha athile/Ngowesigxina]	2) Yintoni umsebenzi wakho apha efama?:
3) Uhlala apha efama?: [Ewe/Hayi]	4) Ufuna ukuhlala apha efama?: [Ewe/Hayi]
5) Isini sakho: [Uyindoda/Ulibhinqa]	6) Mingaphi iminyaka yakho?
7) Isimo somtshato: [Awutshatanga/Ungejile/Utshatile/Udivosile]	8) Ufunde kangakanani?:
9) Unabo abantwana? Ukuba ewe, bangaphi?: [Ewe/Hayi]	10) Unawo amava ngeeprojekthi zoxhotyiso?: [Ewe/Hayi]
11) Uhlanga: [Umnyama/Ubrawuni]	12) Wakhuliswa njengomsebenzi wasefama?: [Ewe/Hayi]
13) Uneminyaka emingaphi usebenza ezifama:	14) Ingaba abazali bakho babesebenza ezifama?: [Ewe/Hayi]

1) Luthetha ntoni uxhotyiso kuwe?

2) Nceda bhala phantsi ezona zinto zi-3 **eziphambili kuwe** ubuqu ezimayelana noxhotyiso:

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

3) **Imiyalelo:** Nceda **rhangqela ezona** zinto zi-5 **zibalulekileyo** kuwe. Akukho zimpendulo zilungileyo okanye ezingalunganga, akukho nto 'ilungileyo' okanye 'ingalunganga'. Nceda musa ukuphendula nayo nantoni na ocinga ukuba mna ndifuna ukuyiva, ndifuna impendulo yakho (eyimfihlelo) enyanisekileyo kuphela.

1) Ukufumana imali-mboleko yokuthenga indlu	2) Ukunyuswa komvuzo	3) Amathuba okunyuselwa
4) Ulwazi olumalunga namathuba oxhotyiso	5) Ukummelwa njengeqela	6) Umhlala-phantsi
7) Ukuba ngumnini womhlaba/wendlu	8) Unakekelo lwempilo	9) Ukukwazi ukufumana imali-mboleko
10) Ndiyawonwabela umsebenzi endiwenzayo	11) Amathuba oqeqesho/emfundo	12) Ukucetyiswa/ukolulekwa ingqondo ngumntu wangaphandle efama
13) Ukusebenza kunye njengeqela	14) Iinzuzo zemali kunye nezinye iinzuzo	15) Ukuba ngumnini wezabelo kushishino/kwifama
16) Uqeqeshelo lwezakhono	17) Ukuba nemali eyaneleyo ukuze uhlawulele abantwana bakho imirhumo yesikolo	18) Ukuba nomsebenzi okhuselekileyo
19) Ndineqhayiya ngomsebenzi wam	20) Ukuthathelwa ingqalelo ngabanye abasebenzi	21) Indlela ecacileyo yokuvakalisa izidingo zam

22) Amathuba emfundo ebantwaneni bam	23) Imisebenzi yokuzonwabisa	24) Ukutya okwaneleyo
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- 6) Ingaba Zikhona izinto kuluhlu olungentla ocinga ukuba **aziyonxalenye** yoxhotyiso? (iinombolo zezinto):
- 7) Nceda funda le mibuzo ilandelayo ngononophelo uze uphawule ibhokisi eyeyona ibonisa into oyicingayo. Esikalini, ibhokisi engu-1 ithetha ukuba **awuvumelani kwaphela** nento ebozwayo, ibhokisi engu-2 ithetha ukuba **awuvumelani**, ibhokisi engu-3 ithetha ukuba **uphakathi nje**, ibhokisi engu-4 ithetha ukuba **uyavumelana**, ibhokisi engu-5 ithetha ukuba **uyavumelana ngokupheleleyo**.

Awuvumelani kwaphela/awuvumelani/uphakathi nje/uyavumelana/uyavumelana ngokupheleleyo

Umbuzo:	1	2	3	4	5
1) Ndiyakuvuyela ukusebenza efama.					
2) Ukuba kungenzeka ndingafuna umsebenzi ongengowasefama.					
3) Ndingathanda abantwana bam basebenze efama.					
4) Ngoku ndiziva ndixhobiseke ngakumbi kuneminyaka emi-5 edlulileyo.					
5) Ngoku ndonwabe kakhulu njengomsebenzi wasefama kunakwiminyaka emi-5 edlulileyo.					
6) Ndiyakholelwa ekubeni uphuhliso oluqhubekayo ngoku apha efama luza kuba yinzuzo kum nakwikamva lam.					
7) Iyafumaneka imali-mboleko ebhankini phantsi kwemiqhathango enentsingiselo.					
8) Ndiyakwazi ukufikelela kwezinye iimali nakwezinye iindawo ezingeyiyo ibhanki (umz. kusapho, kubahlobo njl. njl.).					
9) Ukufumana imali-mboleko ukuze ndizithengele izinto kubalulekile kum.					
10) Ngaphandle komvuzo onyusiweyo andisayi kuxhobiseka.					
11) Ndiyawuthanda umsebenzi endiwenzayo.					
12) Kubalekile kum ukuba ndibe nomsebenzi olungileyo okhuselekileyo					
13) Ndinezakhono ezaneleyo zokuba ndingawufumana umsebenzi ongcono ngaphandle kwefama.					
14) Umsebenzi endiwenzayo ubaluleke kakhulu kum.					
15) Ndikufumanisa kubalulekile ukuba ndinganyuselwa kwalapha kule nkampani.					
16) Ndinezakhono zokuwenza kakuhle umsebenzi wam.					
17) Ukuba nethuba lokufunda ngezakhono ezintsha zomsebenzi kuyandixhobisa.					
18) Ndinolwazi olwaneleyo malunga namathuba endinawo oxhotyiso.					
19) Abalingane bam emsebenzini bayandixhasa ekubeni ndixhotyiswe (ngakumbi).					
20) Ukukwazi kwam ukufikelela ebantwini abangaphandle kwefama ukuze ndifumane ulwazi nenkxaso kubalulekile kum.					
21) Ukummelwa njengeqela kunye nabanye abasebenzi kubalulekile kum.					
22) Ndikulungele ukulinda iminyaka nje embalwa phambi kokuba ndizibone iinzuzo zoxhotyiso.					
23) Uxhotyiso lumele luyiphucule ngoku imeko yam yemihla ngemihla.					
24) Abantwana bam baza kuzuza ngaphezulu kunam kuxhotyiso.					
25) Ukuba ngumnini wesuntswana lefama okanye leshishino kubalulekile kum ukuze ndizive ndixhobisekile.					

26) Ukuhlala ngaphandle efama kuza kundixhobisa.					
27) Ukufikelela kwimisebenzi yokuzonwabisa (umz. ibala lezemidlalo) kuyandixhobisa.					
28) Ukufumana uqeqesho lwezakhono zobomi kubalulekile kum.					
29) Kubalulekile kum ukuba kubekho umntu ongumzekelo apha efama.					

Appendix 3: Differences in perceptions - outcomes

The table below indicates whether or not (Y) there are statistically significant differences between the groups present in each dimension. The test scores for each statement which leads to a significant different are presented in the endnotes following this and the next table.

	Employment status	Gender	Race	25 or younger vs. 26-40	25 or younger vs. 40+	26-40 vs. 40+	Education	Experience with Empowerment
Statement 1	Y ⁱ	-	-	Y ⁱⁱ	Y ⁱⁱⁱ	-	-	-
Statement 2	Y ^{iv}	Y ^v	-	Y ^{vi}	Y ^{vii}	-	Y ^{viii}	-
Statement 3	-	-	-	-	Y ^{ix}	-	-	-
Statement 4	Y ^x	-	-	Y ^{xi}	Y ^{xii}	-	-	-
Statement 5	Y ^{xiii}	-	-	Y ^{xiv}	Y ^{xv}	-	-	-
Statement 6	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xvi}	Y ^{xvii}	-	-
Statement 7	-	-	Y ^{xviii}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xix}
Statement 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 11	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xx}	-	-	-
Statement 12	Y ^{xxi}	-	Y ^{xxii}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 13	Y ^{xxiii}	-	Y ^{xxiv}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 14	-	-	Y ^{xxv}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 15	-	-	Y ^{xxvi}	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xxvii}
Statement 16	-	-	Y ^{xxviii}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 20	Y ^{xxix}	Y ^{xxx}	Y ^{xxxi}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 21	-	-	Y ^{xxxii}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xxxiii}
Statement 24	-	-	Y ^{xxxiv}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 26	-	-	Y ^{xxxv}	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Farm 1 = Dieresig; Farm 2 = Eiehuis; Farm 3 = Pompeblad; Farm 4 = Mooisig; Farm 5 = Skipkyk

	Farm 1 – 2	1-3	1-4	1-5	2-3	2-4	2-5	3-4	3-5	4-5
Statement 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xxxvi}	-
Statement 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 3	-	Y ^{xxxvii}	Y ^{xxxviii}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 4	-	-	Y ^{xxxix}	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xi}	-	-
Statement 5	-	Y ^{xli}	Y ^{xlii}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 6	-	Y ^{xliii}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 7	-	Y ^{xliv}	Y ^{xliv}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 9	Y ^{xlvi}	-	-	-	-	Y ^{xlvi}	Y ^{xlvi}	-	-	-
Statement 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 12	-	Y ^{xlvi}	-	-	-	-	-	Y ⁱ	-	-
Statement 13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 23	-	Y ⁱⁱ	-	Y ⁱⁱⁱ	-	-	-	-	Y ^{liii}	Y ^{liv}
Statement 24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y ^{lv}	-	-
Statement 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statement 28	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y ^{lv}	-	Y ^{lvii}	Y ^{lviii}
Statement 29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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- ⁱ Permanent workers: $M = 3,83$, $SE = 0,15$; temporary workers: $M = 2,21$, $SE = 0,37$; $t(87) = -4,18$, $p < .05$.
- ⁱⁱ Respondents between 26 and 40: $M = 3,63$, $SE = 0,21$; respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 2,06$, $SE = 0,34$; $t(52) = -4,10$, $p < .05$.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 2,06$, $SE = 0,34$; respondents aged 40+: $M = 4,05$, $SE = 0,22$; $t(53) = -4,96$
- ^{iv} Temporary workers: $M = 4,14$, $SE = 0,31$; permanent workers: $M = 2,73$, $SE = 0,19$; $t(79) = 3,25$, $p < .05$.
- ^v Women: $M = 3,35$, $SE = 0,22$; men: $M = 2,71$, $SE = 0,24$; $t(84) = -1,9$, $p < .05$.
- ^{vi} Respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 4,13$, $SE = 0,30$; respondents aged between 26 and 40: $M = 3,21$, $SE = 0,24$; $t(48) = -2,25$, $p < .05$.
- ^{vii} Respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 4,13$, $SE = 0,30$; respondents aged 40+: $M = 2,50$, $SE = 0,26$; $t(37,288) = 4,07$
- ^{viii} 7 or more years of education: $M = 3,28$, $SE = 0,21$; less than 7 years of education: $M = 2,50$, $SE = 0,32$; $t(73) = -2,12$, $p < .05$.
- ^{ix} Respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 1,14$, $SE = 0,14$; respondents aged 40+: $M = 1,74$, $SE = 0,18$; $t(46,109) = -2,59$, $p < .05$.
- ^x Permanent workers: $M = 3,18$, $SE = 0,19$; temporary workers: $M = 1,90$, $SE = 0,43$; $t(76) = -2,93$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xi} Respondents aged between 26 and 40: $M = 3,09$, $SE = 0,27$; respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 1,73$, $SE = 0,40$; $t(42) = -2,66$, $p < .05$
- ^{xii} Respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 1,73$, $SE = 0,33$; respondents aged 40+: $M = 3,32$, $SE = 0,27$; $t(24,399) = 3,73$
- ^{xiii} Permanent workers: $M = 3,42$, $SE = 0,17$; temporary workers: $M = 2,40$, $SE = 0,43$; $t(81) = -2,06$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xiv} Respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 2,23$, $SE = 0,40$; respondents aged between 26 and 40: $M = 3,18$, $SE = 0,24$; $t(49) = -2,02$, $p < .05$
- ^{xv} Respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 2,23$, $SE = 0,40$; respondents aged 40+: $M = 3,74$, $SE = 0,24$; $t(49) = -3,19$
- ^{xvi} Respondents aged 40+: $M = 4,16$, $SE = 0,20$; respondents aged 25 and younger: $M = 3,13$, $SE = 0,40$; $t(51) = 0,02$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xvii} Respondents aged between 26 and 40: $M = 3,18$, $SE = 0,23$; respondents aged 40+: $M = 4,16$, $SE = 0,20$; $t(74) = -3,19$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xviii} Respondents - coloured people: $M = 3,88$, $SE = 0,15$; respondents - black people: $M = 2,5$, $SE = 0,38$; $t(81) = -3,79$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xix} Respondents without empowerment experience: $M = 2,77$, $SE = 0,20$; respondents with empowerment experience: $M = 2,00$, $SE = 0,30$; $t(32,94) = -2,12$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xx} Respondents aged 40+: $M = 4,18$, $SE = 0,19$; respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 3,06$, $SE = 0,43$; $t(21,202) = -2,35$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxi} Temporary workers: $M = 4,92$, $SE = 0,08$; permanent workers: $M = 4,22$, $SE = 0,15$; $t(75,919) = 4,02$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxii} Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,54$, $SE = 0,11$; respondents - black people: $M = 3,72$, $SE = 0,38$; $t(20,13) = -2,10$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxiii} Respondents aged 40+: $M = 4,18$, $SE = 0,19$; respondents aged 25 or younger: $M = 3,06$, $SE = 0,43$; $t(21,202) = -2,35$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxiv} Temporary workers: $M = 4,92$, $SE = 0,08$; permanent workers: $M = 4,22$, $SE = 0,15$; $t(75,919) = 4,02$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxv} Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,54$, $SE = 0,11$; respondents - black people: $M = 4,45$, $SE = 0,11$; $t(20,127) = -2,08$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxvi} Temporary workers: $M = 4,57$, $SE = 0,29$; permanent workers: $M = 3,83$, $SE = 0,17$; $t(22,313) = 2,21$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxvii} Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,17$, $SE = 0,15$; respondents - black people: $M = 2,83$, $SE = 0,36$; $t(87) = -3,90$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxviii} Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,22$, $SE = 0,14$; respondents - black people: $M = 3,18$, $SE = 0,39$; $t(20,33) = -2,54$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxix} Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,41$, $SE = 0,11$; respondents - black people: $M = 3,38$, $SE = 0,36$; $t(23,53) = -2,74$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxx} Respondents without empowerment experience: $M = 4,33$, $SE = 0,11$; respondents with empowerment experience: $M = 3,40$, $SE = 0,37$; $t(22,71) = -2,38$, $p < .05$.
- ^{xxxi} Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,18$, $SE = 0,14$; respondents - black people: $M = 3,35$, $SE = 0,35$; $t(25,24) = -2,28$, $p < .05$.

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- xxix Temporary workers: $M = 4,64$, $SE = 0,13$; permanent workers: $M = 3,91$, $SE = 0,15$; $t(51,731) = 3,63$, $p < .05$.
- xxx Women: $M = 4,29$, $SE = 0,14$; men: $M = 3,76$, $SE = 0,22$; $t(67,46) = -2,05$, $p < .05$.
- xxxi Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,27$, $SE = 0,12$; respondents - black people: $M = 3,21$, $SE = 0,36$; $t(22,41) = -2,83$, $p < .05$.
- xxxii Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,50$, $SE = 0,10$; respondents - black people: $M = 3,32$, $SE = 0,33$; $t(21,63) = -3,48$, $p < .05$.
- xxxiii Respondents with empowerment experience: $M = 3,06$, $SE = 0,36$; Respondents without empowerment experience: $M = 3,89$, $SE = 0,17$; $t(79) = -2,29$, $p < .05$.
- xxxiv Respondents - coloured people: $M = 4,36$, $SE = 0,11$; respondents - black people: $M = 3,05$, $SE = 0,37$; $t(21,48) = -3,37$, $p < .05$.
- xxxv Respondents - coloured people: $M = 3,55$, $SE = 0,15$; respondents - black people: $M = 2,85$, $SE = 0,32$; $t(85) = -2,14$, $p < .05$.
- xxxvi Pompeblad: $M = 2,94$, $SE = 0,31$; Skipkyk: $M = 4,50$, $SE = 0,50$; $t(18) = -2,33$, $p < .05$.
- xxxvii Dieresig: $M = 2,22$, $SE = 0,25$; Pompblad: $M = 1,40$, $SE = 0,21$; $t(39,201) = 2,49$, $p < .05$.
- xxxviii Dieresig: $M = 2,22$, $SE = 0,25$; Mooisig: $M = 1,31$, $SE = 0,09$; $t(33,200) = 3,39$, $p < .05$.
- xxxix Dieresig: $M = 3,72$, $SE = 0,30$; Mooisig: $M = 2,35$, $SE = 0,26$; $t(57) = 3,43$, $p < .05$.
- xl Pompeblad: $M = 3,53$, $SE = 0,40$; Mooisig: $M = 2,35$, $SE = 0,26$; $t(47) = 2,50$, $p < .05$.
- xli Dieresig: $M = 3,93$, $SE = 0,21$; Pompblad: $M = 3,00$, $SE = 0,39$; $t(24,171) = 2,10$, $p < .05$.
- xlil Dieresig: $M = 3,93$, $SE = 0,21$; Mooisig: $M = 2,97$, $SE = 0,27$; $t(63,934) = 2,79$, $p < .05$.
- xlili Dieresig: $M = 3,83$, $SE = 0,23$; Pompblad: $M = 2,82$, $SE = 0,36$; $t(45) = 2,49$, $p < .05$.
- xliv Dieresig: $M = 4,18$, $SE = 0,21$; Pompblad: $M = 3,29$, $SE = 0,35$; $t(27,285) = -2,16$, $p < .05$.
- xlvi Dieresig: $M = 4,18$, $SE = 0,21$; Mooisig: $M = 3,35$, $SE = 0,26$; $t(56,774) = 2,44$, $p < .05$.
- xlvi Dieresig: $M = 4,00$, $SE = 0,26$; Eiehuis: $M = 2,17$, $SE = 0,48$; $T(26) = 3,34$, $p < .05$.
- xlviil Eiehuis: $M = 2,17$, $SE = 0,48$; Mooisig: $M = 3,56$, $SE = 0,27$; $t(8,580) = -2,55$, $p < .05$.
- xlviil Eiehuis: $M = 2,17$, $SE = 0,48$; Skipkyk: $M = 4,00$, $SE = 0,41$; $t(8) = -2,70$, $p < .05$.
- xlx Dieresig: $M = 4,96$, $SE = 0,30$; Pompblad: $M = 3,44$, $SE = 0,42$; $t(29,798) = 2,96$, $p < .05$.
- l Pompeblad: $M = 3,44$, $SE = 0,42$; Mooisig: $M = 4,54$, $SE = 0,18$; $t(20,508) = -2,43$, $p < .05$.
- li Dieresig: $M = 4,29$, $SE = 0,25$; Pompblad: $M = 3,18$, $SE = 0,36$; $t(39) = 2,64$, $p < .05$.
- lii Dieresig: $M = 4,29$, $SE = 0,25$; Skipkyk: $M = 2,25$, $SE = 0,25$; $t(26) = 3,23$, $p < .05$.
- liii Pompeblad: $M = 3,18$, $SE = 0,36$; Skipkyk: $M = 2,25$, $SE = 0,25$; $t(15,529) = 2,13$, $p < .05$.
- liiv Mooisig: $M = 3,97$, $SE = 0,21$; Skipkyk: $M = 2,25$, $SE = 0,25$; $t(39) = 2,56$, $p < .05$.
- liv Pompeblad: $M = 3,50$, $SE = 0,35$; Mooisig: $M = 4,26$, $SE = 0,20$; $t(52) = -2,02$, $p < .05$.
- lvi Eiehuis: $M = 4,25$, $SE = 0,31$; Skipkyk: $M = 5,00$, $SE = 0,00$; $t(7,000) = -2,39$, $p < .05$.
- lvii Pompeblad: $M = 4,06$, $SE = 0,30$; Skipkyk: $M = 5,00$, $SE = 0,00$; $t(17,000) = -3,18$, $p < .05$.
- lviii Mooisig: $M = 4,21$, $SE = 0,20$; Skipkyk: $M = 5,00$, $SE = 0,25$; $t(37,000) = -4,02$, $p < .05$.